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An exploratory study on the Korean-Canadian women in metro Toronto.

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**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY ON THE
KOREAN-CANADIAN WOMEN
IN METRO TORONTO**

by

Irene Chungwha Lee

A thesis
presented to the University of Windsor
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Work
in
The School of Social Work
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1985

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RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Professor	B. J. Kroeker, Chairman
Dr.	L. E. Buckley, Member
Professor	M. A. Buck, Member

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was, firstly, to examine the socio-demographic characteristics of the Korean-Canadian women between twenty and sixty years of age residing in the Metro Toronto area. Secondly, the study explored married Korean-Canadian women's experiences in terms of family relationships, employment and social participation. The final purpose of this study was to determine the major difficulties and common problems faced by Korean-Canadian women.

In order to examine the above mentioned purpose, eight areas have been differentiated: socio-demographic characteristics of respondents; family relationships; employment; language training and language fluency; income; major problems upon arrival and at present time; social participation and leisure time; and use of social services.

This research study was classified as an exploratory-descriptive study. An interview schedule was used as the research instrument. One hundred Korean-Canadian women residing in Metro Toronto were interviewed.

The profile that emerged from the study was that the Korean-Canadian women residing in Metro Toronto area are rather young married women with two or three children, attempting to cope with both their employment as well as work at home. Language, mental/emotional stress, loneliness and concern over children's education and relationships with their children are their major concerns. They still largely identify with the Korean community and their participation in the larger Canadian society is relatively infrequent.

Although the Korean-Canadian women in Metro Toronto do not appear to constitute

a "problematic" group as such, this study essentially substantiated the common observation that Korean-Canadian women are affected by problems and unmet service needs as they attempt to adjust to their life in a new country.

Recommendations were made as a result of the research findings.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In a country such as Canada, where immigration makes a substantial contribution to population change, the problems which face people who migrate have become matters of national importance.

Although much attention has been devoted to the unfolding of the processes of adjustment and participation of the immigrant men to the Canadian society, comparatively little attention has been devoted to women (among other studies, R. Breton, 1961; Parson, 1983; McGowan, 1982). Not only have immigrant women been neglected by researchers, but what's more, what is known about immigrant women is commonly presented through the eyes of others, not through the eyes of the women who lived the experience. As Jacobson (1979) points out, immigrant women's experiences are simply subsumed from the experience of men.

Considering that Korean immigration history in Canada is relatively short, approximately twenty years, and that Korea historically has been a patriarchal society where little attention has been paid to women, it is not surprising to find that there has been little research on Korean immigrant women in Canada. This study is an attempt to begin to remedy this situation.

The researcher has been involved and interested in the resettlement of the Korean-Canadian immigrant women for some time. Being a Korean-Canadian immigrant woman herself, she is able to understand their cultural background, and speak their language.

The researcher was deliberating on problem formulation when it came to her attention that The Korean-Canadian Cultural Association of Metropolitan Toronto received a contribution under the Summer Canada Student Employment Program - program administered under the Employment Development Branch - Ontario Region, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission to carry out a study on the status of Korean-Canadian women in Metro Toronto area.

Considering the researcher's personal and professional interest in the topic, she was hired as the Project Manager for this project along with three other Project Workers.

The data used for this thesis is part of the material collected for the study, "Status of Korean-Canadian Women in Metro Toronto Area" during the summer of 1984.

Consequently, the researcher had the involvement and support of The Korean-Canadian Cultural Association of Metropolitan Toronto, as well as the support from the Korean community in Metro Toronto.

There was a variety of research questions asked prior to the study's commencement. What socio-demographic data is available about Korean-Canadian women? More specifically, what has happened to the married Korean-Canadian women with children? What has been the Korean-Canadian women's experience with family relationships (marital, children, and extended family); as a member of the work force, with language training and with social participation? What are some of the major problems confronting the Korean-Canadian women? What are some of the methods and services required to remedy these problems?

Although this study attempts to outline a profile of Korean-Canadian women in general (ages between twenty to sixty); the major focus is on Korean-Canadian women who are married and have children. The researcher has chosen to focus on this particular group in response to previous writings (Ferraris, 1969; Ng, 1981; and

McGowan, 1982) which suggest that this population has been least explored and yet is probably the most vulnerable, in terms of their adjustment to Canadian society. Ferraris (1969, p. 2) for example, suggests that investigators have neglected this group of women because they believed that the disorienting and traumatic aspect of the immigration process does not impinge on women to a great extent. However, an increasing quantity of literature suggests that the immigration process is just as difficult for women and that although their experience is different from those of immigrant men, their problems are very real.

The main objectives of the study were:

- to examine the socio-demographic characteristics of the Korean-Canadian women between twenty and sixty years of age residing in the Metro Toronto area;
- to explore married Korean-Canadian women's experiences in terms of family relationships, employment, and social participation, and,
- to compile a profile of the major difficulties and common problems faced by Korean-Canadian women.

Specific variables were chosen, appropriate to achieve the above objectives, and these were operationalized for use in the questionnaire, as an effective tool of measurement.

This research paper is divided into six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction. The second chapter looks at the history of Canadian immigration, the place of Korean women in the traditional Korean culture, and the history of the Korean community in Metro Toronto area.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature. Literature review pertains to studies on Koreans in Canada, other studies on the resettlement of Koreans in the United States, studies on immigrant women in Canada, and studies on immigrants in Canada.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the research design and methodology. It deals with

research classification, population sample, data collection procedures, interview schedule, the interview team and computer analysis. Limitations of the study are also presented.

Chapter 5 consists of a presentation and analysis of the findings. Finally, Chapter 6 provides a general summary of the study, and offers recommendations.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1. HISTORY OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION

There are few countries in the world in whose history immigration has played as important a role as it has done in the history of Canada. Line for line, we can match the graph of the nation's growth with the rise and fall of its immigration figures:

For Canada, immigration is historically important and a topic which engenders much emotion, besides being an area of complex legal and administrative problems. Different groups have deeply ingrained interests and thus conflicts have developed among rival interests over arcane points of policy, law, and practice.

From the earliest history, Canada's constant need for more and more strong arms and sturdy backs forced the country to look beyond its border. Immigration provided its only hope for economic and political growth. As Canada formulated the policies which would regulate the flow of immigration, Canada used extreme caution, ensuring always that the laws would protect the existing privileged life-style (Palmer, 1975).

Briefly, the arrival in Canada of people drawn from a wide variety of ethnic origins can be followed through four distinct phases.

The first phase began with the immigration from France and lasted until approximately 1901. In that year the immigration policy of Sir Clifford Sifton, who became Minister of the Interior in 1896 and who was determined to see the Canadian

west settled, showed its results in the sharply rising census figures. This second phase, which lasted from 1901 until the outbreak of World War I, saw the greatest flow of people into Canada that the country has ever experienced. This influx was halted abruptly by the war, and the level of immigration only began to rise again in the early 1920's. This third phase was in turn halted by the Depression and immigration lapsed until a fourth phase began after World War II and has continued since then (Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1970). Each of these four phases attracted different types of immigrants to the country. Thus over the years, the ethnic background, the class, and the educational levels of the newcomers have differed widely, as have the geographic areas in which they chose to settle.

The basic statute in Canadian immigration is the 1952 Immigration Act, an illiberal piece of legislation now greatly modified by subsequent regulations and minor amendments. The first phase in Canada's postwar immigration policy was in fact laid down in a statement by Prime Minister MacKenzie King in 1947. Essentially, only immigrants from Europe and the United States and their relatives were to be admitted. In the early fifties, small quotas were added from India, Pakistan and Ceylon and a small number of domestic workers were admitted annually from the West Indies. This approach came under increasing criticism in Canada among those concerned with immigration. By the mid-fifties, immigrants were being actively recruited in the Middle East and in the revised immigration regulations introduced in 1962, racial discrimination was removed altogether, except in the matter of sponsoring relatives (Hawkins, 1971).

The amendments to the 1967 immigration regulations were a breakthrough in Canadian immigration policy and management. They established a policy which was universal, non-discriminatory, selective and particularly directed to meeting Canada's manpower needs. For the first time, the principles governing the selection of immigrants were spelled out in detail, and a nine point assessment system with a

major emphasis on education, training, and occupation demand in Canada was introduced, thus enabling immigrant officers to use the same criteria for admission from anywhere in the world (Palmer, 1975).

These new immigration regulations divided immigrants into three main categories: sponsored, nominated relatives, and independent. A sponsored immigrant included members of the immediate family (spouse and/or children) and fiancé(e), of Canadian residents. Nominated relatives were more distant relations of Canadian residents. The nominator (Canadian resident) had to demonstrate the ability and willingness to provide care and maintenance and otherwise assist the applicant in becoming established. The nominated relatives and independent categories were screened by means of a point system. This assessment system contained up to one hundred points. Points were given on the basis of years of education, occupational demand, occupational skill, age, arranged employment, language of French/English, employment demand in intended area of settlement, personal assessment of the immigration officer, and a relative, willing to help the immigrant become established. An applicant needed to obtain at least fifty of the one hundred points. The objective of the point system was to emphasize manpower considerations, in addition to family reunion goals (Keely & Elwell, 1981). The point system emphasized being able to establish oneself in Canada economically and socially. This selection system obviously encourages the movement of professional and skilled manpower to Canada while at the same time discourages the movement of unskilled workers, except as bonafide relatives.

In the 1970's, concern about the Canadian economy and its growth, population growth and its attendant resource and environmental effects, especially territorial distribution and urban concentration, led to a national inquiry on immigration and population. A task force was organized in the Department of Manpower and Immigration in September, 1973 with the mandate to prepare a Green Paper. In

February 1975, a Green Paper on Immigration and Population was tabled in the House of Commons followed by public hearings across the country on immigration (Canada, Parliament, 1975). The Immigration Act of 1976 resulted, receiving Royal assent in 1977 and the Act and Regulations under it were proclaimed in force in April 1978. Under the new Act, there is an explicit commitment to link immigration flows to economic conditions and demographic needs in Canada.

In sum, Canadian policy now pursues goals of meeting manpower needs, family reunion, humanitarian and refugee resettlement, and guiding population dynamics, including distribution. The recent Canadian immigration history can also be viewed as a "series of pragmatic reactions to relatively short-term interests and pressures" (Canada, Manpower and Immigration, 1975).

Canada continues to view immigration ambivalently, as a potential benefit and possible peril. Canada sees immigration policy as providing a mechanism to meet national goals - demographic, economic, and foreign relations - if only the correct policy can be devised and implemented.

2.2. THE STATUS OF KOREAN WOMEN IN THE TRADITIONAL KOREAN CULTURE

Korean society has a long and rich history and its cultural tradition has very deep roots. Tradition and veneration of the past have always been major factors influencing the living-style of the Koreans throughout history.

Although it is beyond the scope of this particular study to attempt to present a complete description of Korean history and its culture, it is necessary to describe some basic aspects of Korean society. It would be impossible to understand accurately the Korean woman of today without some knowledge of her cultural heritage. In order to understand Korean women of today, we must first study Korean society in general, its structure and ideals, and in particular, the family.

Historically, and especially during the Yi Period (1392-1910), the feudalistic Confucian influence made a tremendous mark on Korean culture. Confucianism played a leading role, which had the effect of degrading women's status in traditional Korean society. Although Confucius had little to say about women, what he did say was decisive and far-reaching in its effect. David and Vera Mace (1959) note:

Confucius based his whole teaching about human society upon the patriarchal family, ancestor worship, and the duty of filial piety. The function of the woman within this system was simple and clear. It could be summed up in one four-letter word--"obey". Woman is a creature born to obedience (p. 67).

Throughout her life, a woman's duty was to follow the three obediences: Before marriage, to obey the father; After marriage, to obey the husband; In the event of the husband's death, to obey her son (Mace, 1959).

Accordingly, Korean women were identified by their position as relative to men. "Before marriage she was so-and-so's daughter, after marriage so-and-so's wife and in her old age, so-and-so's mother" (Kim, 1982, p. 85). This practice of identification still persists today even though women now do have their own names.

Throughout the entire Yi Dynasty, Korean women were legally subordinated to men in accordance with the prevalent Confucian ethic. The major characteristics of this family system were:

- only the paternal line relatives were regarded as relatives
- social class and rights were transmitted only from fathers to sons
- the sole authority in the family rested with the father who had control over the children
- marriages were allowed only with those outside the blood clan
- first-born males held the right to lineal succession (Kim, 1982, p. 89).

By tradition, upper class Korean men maintained several wives. There were no restrictions on the number of "wives" a man might have if he could afford them and

could endure the inevitable rivalries within his household (Kim, 1982, p. 96). During war time in the Yi Dynasty the severe shortage of food forced many husbands to cast out their wives. These poverty-stricken women often starved to death (Kim, 1982, p. 106). Obviously, women were perceived as the property or commodity existing for men.

The traditional marriage system in Korea was very severe in that young people did not date to choose their marriage partners. The special feature of the system was that only the parents could arrange a marriage for a boy or girl. Any romance between a boy and girl was regarded as disgraceful and sinful and was supposed to be unfilial to parents--even until modern times (c. 1910):

The Code of the Yi Dynasty, which continued in Korea until 1910, declared a love marriage to be illegitimate and subject to punishment (Mace, 1959, p. 134).

During the Yi Dynasty, it was not uncommon for a bridegroom to be much younger than his bride to get free labour from her and to have children as soon as possible. To a bride, marriage meant total submission to her husband and her husband's family as expressed in the wedding ritual, specifically to her new in-laws (Cho, 1984, p. 12).

Separation of the sexes was practiced in traditional Korean society. When boys and girls reached the age of seven, they were not allowed to sit together. In the home, they were not permitted to use the same towels, hangers, or other commodities. They had to use separate items. The arrangement of the household was that the husband lived in the front room while the wife was closed off in the rear room. On the street or in public, it was the rule for the wife to walk several steps behind the husband (Mace, 1959).

The rule of separation of the sexes persisted until the beginning of the 20th century. With the extreme forms of segregation, women in Korea were neither seen nor heard.

Thus, they were inevitably cut off from opportunities for independence in social activities. Women were not only generally denied the benefits of formal education, but also were discouraged from developing any natural ability or talent which might be useful for a career outside the home. "A woman's lack of talent is in itself a virtue", and "If a hen crows, the household crumbles" were frequently used proverbs to check any worldly ambitions of a woman. The result was a general lack of professional skills among women and an incomparably higher percentage of illiteracy among women than among men.

Legally, women were denied many rights. Women were given no recourse to divorce. If a woman did leave her husband, she was not allowed to take the children. Only under extreme conditions were women welcomed back to their own family after leaving their husbands. With nowhere to go, suicide was often the only way out for a woman in an unbearable situation and this was not uncommon (Kim, 1982).

In recent years, the structure of Korean society has undergone some changes and since the traditional family system is no longer compatible, it too has undergone basic changes. The introduction of Christian teaching, the availability of more educational opportunities for Korean women and the introduction of Western culture since the end of World War II have liberated Korean women from the traditional oppression socially imposed by Confucianism. However, Confucianism still plays a powerful role in the present Korean society to the extent that one could easily see the vertical relationships within a family, in other social institutions and in the political structure (Cho, 1984).

2.3. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE KOREAN COMMUNITY IN METRO TORONTO AREA

The history of Korean immigration to Canada is relatively brief. It was not until 1967, when new amendments to the Canada Immigration Act came into effect that Koreans were encouraged to immigrate to Canada. As mentioned earlier in this study, for the first time the precise criteria to be used in selecting immigrants was spelled out. The policy was to be nondiscriminatory, and it was to be based on a weighted scale, known as the "point system". As a result of these changes in policy, the non-white racial groups were for the first time placed on an equal basis with white immigrants (Ramcharan, 1982, p. 15). With this new policy, Korean settlement in Canada began in earnest.

What motivates Koreans to immigrate to Canada? In general, economically active persons consider moving because they sense a need and want to satisfy it. The nature of the need can be economic, social or psychological. Individuals become candidates for migration when they perceive opportunities for satisfying their needs elsewhere. An immigrant subjectively expects his move to be useful or successful in satisfying his needs, whether these are basic needs or discretionary needs. This may relate, for instance, to more income, better employment or a social reward (Keely & Elwell, 1981).

Melendy (1982) believes that most Koreans immigrating during the 1960's and 1970's fell into one of two large groups. One was composed of individuals in the middle and upper classes, sought better economic opportunities. The other large group leaving Korea was formed of well-to-do businessmen who did not oppose the President Park regime but sought economic sanctuary for their investments in anticipation of President Park's possible collapse.

Korea's societal structure, based upon the concept of the extended family, meant a

rising young employee without family connections could be squeezed out of a business establishment to make room for some relative of the owner. Many well-trained middle class Koreans left their homeland because there was no economic future in working for another family's business.

Another important "push" factor leading to emigration was the view of young parents that educational opportunities for their children were limited in Korea (Melendy, 1982). Thus, parents suffered socio-economic dislocations to provide their children with a better education.

Dong-A-Ilbo, a leading Korean newspaper, reported that according to their 1979 survey, fifty percent of South Korea's population expressed an interest in emigrating. What are their reasons for emigrating? Dong-A-Ilbo reported that people living in South Korea need to work hard and long hours. Coupled with disheartening inflation and an average per capita income of \$1,500, these conditions provided sufficient cause for disillusionment.

Others have bridled at the government's authoritarianism. Instability has been a many faceted curse. It has made more frightening the possibility of a North Korean attack, threatening businessmen and other members of the middle class with the possibility of a communist takeover. However, this has also simultaneously provided successive South Korean regimes with the excuse to limit freedom, to build a vast military apparatus, and to operate a dreaded secret-police system. Bourgeois Koreans, not well-enough connected to make profits from the military or from government contacts, joined those less well-off to consider emigrating to North America (Kessner & Caroli, 1981).

For many Koreans, the United States and Canada stand for freedom, liberty and security, and economic opportunity. Many Koreans had also invested heavily in

education but could find no outlet for their ~~knowledge~~ in Korea. The testimony of many who know the Korean community is that their reasons for emigration are a combination of ambition, a powerful drive for education and economic success.

There were approximately 70 Koreans in Metro Toronto in 1965 and by the end of 1969, there were well over 2,000. In 1971, over 1,000 Koreans entered Canada for the first time, and the annual immigration rate steadily increased for the next four years, reaching a peak in 1975, with 4,316 entering Canada in that year. After 1975 the number of immigrants started to decrease, and in 1978 it dropped below 1,000 to 714 (Profile of Korean-Canadians in Ontario and Ontario Ethnocultural Profiles - Koreans). In the summer of 1979 the Korean Canadian Cultural Association of Metro Toronto conducted a census of the community and found that there were 23,000 Koreans living in Metro Toronto.

Currently, there are an estimated 25,000 Koreans living in the Metro Toronto area (Park, 1982). A demographic study of the Korean-Canadians in Metro Toronto, conducted in the summer of 1983, indicated that there were an equal number of males and females in the Korean-Canadian community. Some one-fourth of the total Korean-Canadian population were women 20 to 60 years of age. It was also estimated that fully two-thirds of these women were actively employed in the work force (Kim, 1983).

- The history of the Korean settlement in Ontario is reflected in the population's highly academic/professional composition. We can speculate that this is due to the fact that the majority of the Korean immigrants were admitted under the point system which stresses education and occupational skill, among other factors. Park (1982) reports that because their professional status does not receive full recognition in this society, they often accept jobs which are much below their qualifications. This situation has forced many of them to engage in their own small businesses. The 1983

survey indicated that 35.8% of Korean-Canadians operated convenience stores and a further 8.4% operated other private businesses, for a total of 44.2%.

There is a concentration of Korean businesses in the Bloor Street West area, extending from Bathurst Street to the Christie Pits area. Apart from the convenience stores, there are food stores, restaurants, boutiques, trading companies which import ingredients for Korean foods and materials for arts and crafts, insurance agencies, real estate agencies, travel agencies, printing shops, driving schools, accounting services, herbalists, acupuncturists and taekwon-do institutes. These enterprises primarily serve the needs of the Korean-Canadian population.

Although there is a concentration of Korean businesses in Metro Toronto, their residential location tends to be geographically dispersed throughout the metro area, and not concentrated in any one area or "ghetto".

Religion plays a vital role in the lives of Koreans. As of 1984, the directory of The Korean-Canadian Cultural Association of Metropolitan Toronto shows that there are 35 Korean speaking Protestant churches, one Roman Catholic church and two Buddhist temples in Metro Toronto area.

There are a number of respects in which the church is an important source of help to the immigrants in their adjustment to Canadian society. Perhaps the most profound point is that Koreans are in a foreign land where they are, in all public situations, surrounded by those speaking in foreign language with whom they must attempt to communicate. For the Koreans, the church is a source of comfort and reassurance as a place where Korean is spoken, and where they may immerse themselves in a collectivity and in a ritual which has great emotional significance for them.

There are other important kinds of assistance which immigrants receive from the church. Help is given by the ministers in such matters as finding a job, finding a place

to live, arranging marriages and many other things. In almost any situation, the minister is available to advise and counsel. It is perhaps for some of these reasons that many new immigrants who were not actively religious in Korea have begun to participate in the affairs of the church following their arrival in Canada.

There are also approximately 70 Korean organizations of various kinds in the Metro area. There are various business organizations, social organizations, over 10 educational organizations including Korean language schools, and approximately 60 alumni associations for graduates of high schools and universities. Each provides a service or opportunity much needed by the people leaving to adjust to their new country.

Chapter 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is directed primarily towards a review of the existing literature. It became apparent from the beginning of this research that very little had been written specifically about or for Korean-Canadian women. It has been necessary, therefore, to refer to sources which deal with related subjects, such as: the Koreans in Canada, the Koreans in United States, immigrant women of other ethnic origins, and immigrants in Canada in general. The review of the literature is divided into four sections: studies on Koreans in Canada; studies on the resettlement of Koreans in the United States; studies on immigrant women; and studies on immigrant groups in Canada.

3.1. STUDIES ON KOREANS IN CANADA

While little research was discovered, there are several projects of note which focused on Koreans in Canada.

Research by Bo-Kyung Kim, 1976, for a Ph.D. dissertation investigated the problems of new Korean-Canadian adolescents within a "Social Learning Theory" framework. His hypothesis that the immigrant adolescents would show lower parental identification and higher external locus of control than Korean and Canadian adolescents was not supported. However, in the new Korean-Canadian female groups, length of residence in Canada showed significant negative correlation with Korean ethnic attitudes, parental identification and internal locus of control. The female immigrant adolescents who had stronger Korean attitudes showed more parental identification.

Hee-Min Park's study in 1982 explored how immigrant churches can serve the immigrants more effectively. The first part of the study explored the problems and needs of the Korean immigrants in Metro Toronto. The study indicated that language, was the single biggest problem for the Korean immigrants in Metro Toronto, with culture shock, generation gap and conflicts, identity problems and mental health problems following.

In the summer of 1983, a demographic study of the Korean-Canadians in Metro Toronto was undertaken by The Korean-Canadian Cultural Association so that this data could be used as parameters for the development of the Korean-Canadian community's social and cultural programs of the future.

The study indicated that the breakdown, by number of years in Canada, showed that the majority came to Canada five to nine years ago, which coincided with the Korean immigration peak in Canada. The study also indicated that 25.5% of the total Korean-Canadian population was comprised of women between 20 and 60 years of age, as mentioned previously.

3.2. STUDIES ON THE RESETTLEMENT OF KOREANS IN THE UNITED STATES

In a study of 181 Korean families in Chicago in 1980, Bok-Lim Kim found that most Korean immigrants were young parents with small children. They had lived in Chicago for three years or less. Seventy-one percent of the men were employed and 60% of the women also worked outside the home. More than one-half of the working women were professionals. Over 83% of these families had incomes in excess of \$5,000(U.S.). When the problems and needs of this group were ascertained, it was found that 54% of the total sample reported problems such as underemployment, financial, family relations and family separation, immigration status change, physical illness or psychiatric illness. Financial problems and underemployment ranked the

highest. In terms of service needs, 86% of the sample were judged to have service needs in one or more areas. The service needs most frequently cited were English language improvement, job retraining, and child care. This study essentially substantiated the common observations that while Korean residents in the Chicago area did not live in abject poverty, all segments of the population were affected by numerous serious, reality-based problems due to unmet service needs. The identified problems seemed to be closely related to the effects of the upheavals of immigration.

In a study by Bonacich, Light and Wong (1982), of the Korean immigrants in the Los Angeles area, the authors concluded that although this community appeared well-managed, it reported problems common to new immigrant groups. Youths were largely underemployed; the area had a worrisome high crime rate, and juvenile delinquency was increasing. Koreans in Los Angeles, additionally, had difficulties with the English language and in accomodating to American life.

While a number of the Los Angeles' Koreans had phenominal success in launching grocery and liquor stores, small shops, service stations, and restaurants, many Koreans, especially the most recent arrivals, lived in abject poverty.

A study by Yu, "Koreans in America: Social and Economic Adjustments" (1979), found that a great majority of the Korean immigrants in the United States are women and men in their reproductive ages, and their children.

As with other studies, Yu reported that on appearance, Koreans in America seem to adjust well to the new life setting that they have adopted. "Koreatowns" have emerged in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, and were attracting the attention of other ethnic groups. Success stories of the small businesses run by Koreans often appeared in the columns of major American newspapers. Surveys found that the median yearly income of Korean families on certain occasions exceeded that of American families (Joong-ang Ilbo, Mijooan, October 3, 1979).

On the other hand, difficulties experienced by Koreans in America due to conditions created by themselves and by the host society have been reported with increasing frequency in Korean newspapers and research studies. Language difficulty, cultural differences, a conflicting value system and racial discrimination appeared to be major obstacles faced by Koreans in their effort to make a smooth transition in the new life setting.

Yu found that Koreans generally held a higher occupational rank as compared with their American counterparts due to high educational and occupational backgrounds. Many maintained the same occupational rank in the United States as that held in Korea. It was also found that despite all adverse working conditions such as language difficulty, excessive working hours or the sacrifice of weekends, the Korean immigrants in the United States tended to express general satisfaction with their work.

Yu found that language difficulty of Koreans severely limited their cultural and social activities. They were generally Korea-directed in their cultural activities, relying heavily on Korean newspapers for general informations affecting their daily lives, cultural activities, social events, job information, economic trends, legislative changes, etc. In other words, a majority of Koreans learned about American life and society through Korean newspapers.

3.3. STUDIES ON IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Sharon McGowan in her study of immigrant women in 1982, suggests that most immigrant women living in Canada face a wide variety of problems. These problems are complex, inter-related and often overwhelming. Like their Canadian sisters, immigrant women must deal with a sex-segregated labour force that tends to limit them to low-paying jobs requiring long hours of work, frequently under poor working conditions, as well as carrying the added responsibility of caring for a home, children

and husband. However, most immigrant women must also cope with the added burden of learning a new language, with minimal assistance from government or the community; adjusting to a new culture, which is generally indifferent or even hostile to them; and dealing with many forms of exploitation and discrimination to which they are vulnerable because of their legal or social status, as immigrants. Also, if they are not employed outside the home, immigrant women are often very isolated and have fewer opportunities to participate in the mainstream of Canadian society. In some respects, there might not be a radical difference between the immigrant women and the Canadian women who are not employed. What is peculiar to the immigrant women is that they are seldom fluent enough in the English language to take advantage of the support they could get from newspapers and magazines where problems similar to theirs are examined and put in a perspective of social change affecting most women in their age-group and circumstances. In many cases they feel that their problem is theirs alone. Their cultural background might not allow them to take advantage of recreational, educational, or social facilities that are more readily available to the English-speaking women. Such immigrant women for example, might never think of taking a membership at the YWCA or registering for a course at one of the community colleges or even going back to school. Consequently, many immigrant women who are not employed outside the home might suffer feelings of isolation that they have never experienced before. McGowan believes that to date, little has been done on an "official" level to evaluate and act on the problems facing immigrant women in Canada. Government statistics rarely acknowledge immigrant women, and research reports are written as if women hardly exist. Social service programs are seldom, if ever, designed to meet their needs (McGowan, 1982, p. 3).

Karin Parson (1983) in her article "I'm an Immigrant Woman", in Multiculturalism agrees with McGowan's view and suggests that not only are experiences of immigrant women and their Canadian sisters different, but the experiences of immigrant women

are also very different from those of immigrant men. Although she grants that some of the difficulties faced by strangers in Canadian society are shared by both sexes, she believes that immigrant women have specific problems, including isolation, dependency, and intensification of labour to keep their families together in the new society, with which men do not have to deal. Yet, because of the traditional role ascribed to immigrant women, little is known about them. In fact, Parsons (p. 9) states that even the government bureaucracy is guilty of this oversight, for it was not until 1980 that the Department of Employment and Immigration, Canada, began to differentiate between male and female immigrants in its collection of statistics.

A Report on Immigrant Women in the Labour Force by Ontario Ministry of Labour in 1975 suggests that it is clear from the interviews with counsellors and agency workers, that the problems that women, new to Canada have, are first and foremost the problems many working class and all poor people have: bad housing, crowded living conditions, unemployment, lay-offs, an unstable income, unhealthy working conditions and an uncertain future. The report goes on to state that an immigrant women's lot is a hard one. She is a woman and therefore has not only her job in the workforce, but also her job at home. She finds herself unable to speak up for herself at work and unable to speak up to her husband at home. She has "two bosses" and little time to think, to relax or to plan for the future she came here to build. There is no one she can complain to, if she comes from a culture which inhibits her contacts outside the home, and as a result, she is often mentally and physically barely able to cope. Her problems are so many, the report suggests, that it is difficult to know where to begin to documenting them.

Sheila Arnopoulos, in Problems of Immigrant Women in the Canadian Labour Force (1979, p. 3) states that immigrant women tend to be located on the top and bottom rungs of the labour market ladder with little representation in between. More than any other group, women immigrants are located in the poorly-paid labour market

sectors where they work as domestics, chamber maids, building cleaners, dishwashers, sewing machine operators and plastics workers.

Winnie Ng in her article "Immigrant Women: The Silent Partners of the Women's Movement" in Canadian Woman Studies suggests that despite the tremendous impact of the women's movement on North American society, since the sixties, the movement has produced only ripple effects on the plight of immigrant women in Canada. Immigrant women remain the "muted shadows," the silent partners of our society and of the women's movement. She believes that politically, socially, and economically, immigrant women are easy targets for abuse and exploitation. They are exploited both as women and as immigrants. This situation is decidedly not what they were prepared for, psychologically, when they came to Canada. Most immigrant women came to seek a better future for their families and themselves. They came with dreams that are woven with hope and colours, yet after the initial excitement of arrival, their dreams are shattered by the cold realities of surviving in the land of "great opportunities".

At the National Conference on The Immigrant Women in Canada, held in 1981, Jim Fleming, the Minister of State of Multiculturalism at that time stated that Canada's immigrant women, through endurance, courage and incredibly hard work, have done as much to develop our country as the generals, the political leaders and the entrepreneurs. However, he stated that while the entrance into the Canadian mainstream, by the so-called "bread-winner" and the children of immigrant families, has been given priority by the Canadian system, the woman has often been left in isolation, ignored and neglected. Yet, more often than not, it has been the dogged determination of the woman whose sacrifice allowed the husband and the children to find their way. He stated that for many years, the unique situation of immigrant women has been ignored, or considered secondary to that of the other members of the family, and that it is time for change.

In their report Immigrant Housewives in Canada (1981) , Roxana Ng and Judith Ramirez found that immigration had two main effects on women: firstly, their work was intensified, and secondly, their dependence, economic and otherwise on their husbands was increased. Thus, immigrant women's situations are actually worsened as a result of the immigration process. This means that the home, which is a refuge for immigrant male workers becomes a trap for immigrant women...This contradictory dynamics of the family is crucial to the understanding of the condition of immigrant women.

3.4. STUDIES ON IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN CANADA

In 1974, the Department of Manpower and Immigration reported on the three-year longitudinal survey on the economic and social adaptation of immigrants who arrived in Canada. The report Three Years in Canada dealt with a variety of the experiences of immigrants, including their employment status, income, housing, education, residential mobility, and satisfaction with conditions in Canada.

According to the survey, economic factors were of considerable importance in shaping the success or failure of immigrants' adjustment in the Canadian society.

In terms of occupation, the largest proportion of all the new workers entered managerial, professional or technical fields, followed by craftsmen, clerical and sales occupations.

To a large extent, the survey found that immigrants were able to realize the occupational intentions they held prior to arrival in Canada. A lack of demand for specific skills in Canada was an important reason for failing to move into their intended occupation. Other hurdles included lack of Canadian experience in their chosen occupation field, failure to have their qualifications recognized, and language difficulties.

Information on the wives of immigrants in the sample showed that the majority neither took jobs initially nor were employed by the end of the third year. Nevertheless, the proportion of working immigrant wives exceeded that of Canadian wives in general. Moreover, during the three-year period, there did appear to be a growing tendency on the part of the immigrant wives to join the work force. For four-fifths of these working wives, the husband's employment income was less than \$10,000, three years after arrival in Canada.

The report concluded that all in all, economic adjustment appeared to occur quite rapidly for the majority of immigrants who arrived in 1969. By the end of the immigrant's third year in Canada, the differences between him and his Canadian counterpart on a variety of economic measures had become rather small.

In terms of social adaptation, this report found that after a year in Canada, one-fifth of the immigrant sample thought that their overall social situation had deteriorated as compared with their social position in their country of origin. One-half saw no difference. Three-tenths felt there had been an improvement.

By the end of their second year, 31% of the sample were participating in voluntary associations in which, in almost two-thirds of the cases, Canadians constituted the majority.

In "The Italian Community in Toronto" by Jansen, an attempt was made to study the assimilation of Toronto's Italian community in the light of Eisenstadt's theory of assimilation. The data on Italians in Toronto came mainly from the 1961 census and from interviews conducted with about seventy persons of Italian ethnic origin in Toronto.

Jansen's study found that as a group, Italians encountered the problems generally faced by immigrants, but often have added problems due to their background: low

level of education, little labour force experience and little experience of urban living. Despite these difficulties, they appeared to have few problems in actually finding work and even the image of the "stay-at-home" wife and mother seemed to be changing, since a number of Italian women were in the labour force.

While there was some evidence from this study that basic values of the group were changing, there appeared to be little change in primary group relations. Italians tended to stay with other Italians both at work and at home. Often, primary group relations were limited not only to other Italians, but to Italians of one's village of origin.

Italians tended to belong to few formal organizations and were generally skeptical of leaders. Thus, there appeared to be few "channels of communication" with the wider society.

As far as indices of full absorption were concerned, the major problem of acculturation faced by the Italians was the language problem, accentuated by low levels of education.

With respect to institutional dispersion, there were few signs of absorption of Italians. Except in the political sphere, Italians tended to be segregated from others. However, the study pointed out that the majority of the Italians in Toronto were first generation immigrants, of recent immigration. Given the size of the group, a rapid rate of absorption was not expected.

A study by Lai in The New Chinese Immigrants in Toronto (1969) attempted to study different groups of Chinese immigrants in Toronto. Respondents were obtained from the Chinese ethnic churches, language schools for immigrants, Chinese ethnic associations, students and Chinese staff at York University and the University of Toronto, as well as from Chinese social gatherings.

Lai's study indicated that, similar to the Korean immigrants, the new Chinese immigrants emigrated to Canada as a result of the 1962 shift in the immigration. The study indicated that the majority (65%) of the new Chinese immigrants do not believe in any religion; and the rest are either Protestant (15%) or Catholic (19%). Fifty-one percent of the sample came as independent immigrants to Canada; 15% came on student visas and later changed to immigrant status; and 34% came as sponsored immigrants. Fifty-five percent of the sample have lived in Canada for up to two years. The majority of the Chinese immigrants who came to Canada had either friends or relatives in Canada when they arrived. It appeared that the new Chinese immigrants were usually well educated. Forty-nine percent of the sample had a university education. On the whole, the male population was better educated than the female population. As for their knowledge and fluency in the English language, one-half of the sample thought that they could read and write English fairly fluently.

In terms of structural assimilation, one-third of the population lived in a Chinese residential area; and if they went to church, 50% went to Canadian churches. On the other hand, for those who joined organizations, less than one-third joined Canadian organizations. The majority (86%) had friends from their own ethnic group.

Awan's The People of Pakistani Origin in Canada, Their First Twenty-Five Years, (1977) described some of the characteristics of Pakistani immigrants as follows: Those who come tend to be young, married and well educated. The largest percentage settled in Ontario. Unlike other immigrant groups, Pakistani immigrants have resisted the pattern of organizing a clearly defined community for themselves within the larger community. Rather, they have spread themselves throughout the city areas, renting or owning private dwellings, and this has helped them to facilitate their assimilation into the Canadian life-style. Their command of the English language has also been a significant key to their successful integration.

Awan found that most Pakistani immigrants have come to Canada with the clear intention of taking up permanent residence in Canada. A significant proportion of the immigrants have taken out Canadian citizenship. Many of the immigrants have been successful in achieving a high standard of living, high salary scales, and a high standard of education. As far as professional status is concerned, Awan found that there has been no significant occupational change for Pakistani immigrants in their transition from Pakistan to Canada.

Awan found that the main points of contention for the Pakistani immigrants have been the lack of strong family ties in Canada, the feeling of strangeness regarding Canadian life-styles, and the lack of support for their own customs and religion.

For a large number of immigrants, the overall satisfaction with Canadian life has led them to seek solutions to these problems by establishing and supporting Islamic centres and by providing instruction in their own homes.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. RESEARCH CLASSIFICATION

This study was classified as an exploratory study. The apparent lack of previous research in Canada using Korean-Canadian women as the major focus of study made an exploratory design necessary. Exploratory studies are defined as:

...empirical research investigations which have, as their purpose, the formulation of a problem or a set of questions, developing hypotheses, or increasing an investigator's familiarity of a phenomenon or setting for more precise future research. The intent to clarify or modify concepts may also be predominant (Tripodi et al, 1969, p. 48).

The exploratory study is also a comprehensive approach that focuses on many aspects of the particular situation under study (Grinnell, 1981, p. 298).

The design employed could be sub-typed as being exploratory-descriptive. As Kahn notes, exploratory-descriptive studies are frequently two categories logically on the same level (Kahn, 1960, p. 53). The study was considered to be exploratory-descriptive in that it sought to investigate relationships between certain variables including age, length of sojourn and language fluency.

4.2. POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The population of this study was that of the Korean-Canadian women living in the Metro Toronto area. Unfortunately, a complete listing of "Koreans" living in the Toronto area was not available. In an attempt to assist random sampling, various listings were utilized including the following: the 1984 directory of The Korean-

Canadian Cultural Association of Metropolitan Toronto; the Korean University Student Association Alumni; several Korean churches; and the Ontario Korean Businessmen's Association. These lists contained approximately 5,000 names of the heads of households. Due to the fact that Metro Toronto covers such an extensive area, it was decided that the target areas for this research would be limited to Toronto, Weston, Islington, Rexdale, Downsview, Etobicoke, Willowdale, Don Mills and Scarborough.

4.3. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

The participants were initially informed about the study through several community based Korean language newspapers in the Metro Toronto area. Letters were also sent to fifty ministers of the Korean speaking congregations in the Metro Toronto area explaining the study and asking them to announce that such a study was taking place in the community. The letter also elicited their cooperation. An interview with a staff member from The Korean-Canadian Cultural Association of Metropolitan Toronto was aired on the half-an-hour Korean speaking television program in which the study was explained and cooperation requested from the women of the Korean-Canadian community. The researcher was also interviewed by one of the Korean language newspapers in the Metro Toronto area.

Through these various channels, the majority of the Korean-Canadian immigrant women became aware of the purpose and nature of the study. This greatly facilitated the undertaking of the study.

An initial pool of 300 names were randomly drawn from the above mentioned lists to compile the sample. Although the target sample for interviews was set at approximately 100 women, 300 names were drawn in anticipation of refusals of interviews and realization that list consisted of not only women between 20 and 60 years of age, but also men and the elderly who would not be applicable to this study.

As three Project Workers were hired specifically to conduct interviews with the Korean-Canadian women, each was given 100 names from the list to contact and to follow up with an interview.

Each interviewer made a telephone call to the people on her list, explaining the purpose of the research and determining whether there was a woman within the household that fell within the target age group. Male-only heads of households and those younger or older than the target age group were automatically eliminated. If there was a woman between 20 and 60 years of age within the household, the project was explained in more detail and appointments were scheduled for interviews at a time convenient for the women.

Interviews were usually conducted in the respondents' homes or places of employment, according to the preference of the respondents. Prior to each interview, the interviewers made an introductory explanatory statement to the respondents about the nature of the study, and assured the respondents of confidentiality.

The interviewers used one of three approaches during the interview. In one approach, each question was read orally by the interviewer, and the answers marked in the interview schedule by the interviewer. The second approach was to permit the respondents to complete the questionnaire at her own rate, with the interviewer sitting next to her and being available to answer any questions that might arise. The third approach was to go over the interview schedule together. The choice of approach was determined by each respondent's preference, and the interviewer's judgment as to the literacy level, comfort level, and any other factors that might have come into play.

Each of the interviewers interviewed approximately 33 Korean-Canadian women. The length of interviews ranged from half-an-hour to two hours, depending on the felt need of the respondent to talk about the issues raised in the questionnaire. All of the interviews were carried out during the latter part of June and the month of July, 1984.

4.4. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The major data collection and instrument used in this study was an Interview Schedule (see Appendix I). Pokorny, et al., (1968, p. 374) notes three advantages for using an interview format:

- respondents find it more difficult to refuse to respond in the presence of an interviewer;
- the completion of the questionnaire on their own seems like work, whereas the interviewer is able to make the interview pleasant and interesting; and
- the personal aspect of the interview situation is considered as a friendly contact rather than as an information-gathering contact.

Other advantages to interviewing are obtaining a greater depth of response as well as more complete data and clarification of communication (Isaac & Michael, 1971, p. 96).

Similarly, Jenkins (1960, p. 133) notes that the advantages of the interview are its appropriateness to complex and sensitive subjects which are often of concern to social workers. Jenkins believes that information in depth can be secured by trained interviewers, and the flexibility of the in-person situation allows for probes and exploration of respondent experiences. A better percentage of response is usually secured from personal interviews. Jenkins further notes that in the "person-to-person" situation, non-verbal responses can be incorporated, and hesitation, tone, and affect can be noted.

The questionnaire schedule consisted of 93 questions, most of which were close-ended. The actual questionnaire was written in Korean, which then was translated by the researcher into English for the purpose of this report. The questionnaire was pre-tested with ten Korean women and following the pre-test, adjustments were made accordingly before the revised version was utilized. The final version of the interview schedule consisted of 93 questions covering eight broad areas:

- socio-demographic characteristics of respondents;
- family relationships: including marital, relationship with children, and relationship with parents as well as in-laws;
- participation in the work force;
- language training and language fluency;
- income;
- major problem areas upon arrival and at present time;
- social participation and leisure time; and
- use of social services

4.5. INTERVIEW TEAM

Three female Korean-Canadian university students were involved in the interviewing process. One interviewer was a graduate student in Anthropology with a research background. The second interviewer was a third year computer student who was knowledgeable with the workings of the computer. The third interviewer was a fourth year commerce student who also had previous experience with the computer. All three interviewers were born in South Korea, but immigrated to Canada between ages of eleven and fifteen. They were all bilingually fluent and sensitive to women's concerns.

There was an orientation on interviewing skills prior to the actual interviews. The need for objectivity in research, sources of bias, interviewing techniques, and recording procedures were discussed and it was hoped that these discussions would help reduce data bias.

4.6. COMPUTER ANALYSIS

Once the data was collected, it was verified by the researcher for any omissions or inconsistencies. Following this, the data was coded through the computer at Hahn Computer Institute in Toronto. Lotus 1, 2, 3 on the IBM Personal Computer was used to enter the data and then the body was transferred to the VAX 11/750. The MINITAB statistics program was used to obtain frequency count and correlation. The data is stored on diskette which was formatted under IBM PC DOS 2.1.

4.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study, as any other research work, has its limitations. First of all, the use of the interview as a method of data collection has built-in limitations. Its very flexibility can also mean inconsistency, since each interview situation has different components, and interactions between respondent and interviewer can affect results. This is a justifiable limitation in this study since three different interviewers were involved in the research. However, efforts were made to limit inconsistencies between interviewers. As previously mentioned, there was an orientation on interviewing skills for all interviewers prior to doing the actual interviews. Interviewers were briefed on how to administer the questionnaire in a standardized manner.

The researcher is cognizant of the fact that the respondents may have been reluctant to reveal their true feelings, especially in a face-to-face interview. It is possible that some respondents looked for the "correct" response instead of answering according to their own feelings. In order to minimize this factor, the questionnaire was designed in such a way that a wide range of options were offered to respondents. The respondents were also informed at the beginning of the interview that there are no "correct" or "wrong" responses.

Most of the information sought is nominal and categorical in nature. Such data

provides a direct measure of the variable and consequently, error is less likely. Thus, validity of variables such as age, marital status, length of sojourn in Canada, etc. are assured. However, internal validity might not be as great in categories that could be influenced by attitudes rather than straight facts - such as discrimination, relationship with various members of the family, language fluency, etc. Again, in order to maximize internal validity, the respondents were informed at the beginning of the interview that there are no "correct" or "wrong" responses.

The sample was randomized within the population used. However, the population is not totally representative of all Korean-Canadian women in Metro Toronto area because it was restricted to names which were available to us from the mailing lists or directories of various Korean organizations. Hence, although every effort was made to get a complete listing of Koreans in Metro Toronto area, it cannot be said that all the Koreans belong to one of these organizations.

Some difficulties were encountered in translating responses from Korean to English. Slight variations in meaning may take place in the process of translation. This is a limitation for which it is almost impossible to control. However, since all interviewers were fluent in both Korean and English, the researcher expects only a minimal variation in the process of translation.

Chapter 5

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1. POPULATION DESCRIPTION

The demographic characteristics of the population of Korean-Canadian women in Metro Toronto area will be analyzed first. It should be noted that since exactly 100 women were interviewed, the percentage also represents the actual number of women.

5.1.1. Age

The age of the respondents ranged from 20 to 60 years, with a mean age of 38.6 years.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the respondents' range of age.

Table 1

Age of Korean-Canadian Women

Age Range	Percentage	
20-25	6%	
25-30	19%	
31-35	19%	
36-40	15%	
41-45	17%	
46-50	15%	
51-55	5%	
56-60	4%	
Total	100%	N=100

5.1.2. Marital Status

A high percentage of the respondents were married as outlined in Table 2, with a mere 6% in the single category and less than 10% in the three categories of separated, divorced and widowed.

Table 2

Marital Status of Korean-Canadian Women

Marital Status	Percentage
Married	85%
Single	6%
Separated	3%
Divorced	4%
Widowed	2%
Total	100% N=100

The percentage of divorced or separated respondents appeared fairly low. It might be speculated that there could be several reasons for this. First, divorce is still frowned upon in Korean society. Historically, the feudalistic Confucian influence has made a tremendous impact on Korean culture. As previously mentioned, according to the teachings of Confucius, the function of women is simple and clear, and could be summed up in one word.. "obey". Thus, before her own individuality can have life or before she can express her own opinions, the woman must follow the views of her father or her husband. Hence, for a woman to disobey her husband, and to follow through with a divorce carries a very negative connotation. Thus, many women apparently prefer to suffer through an unhappy marriage rather than risk the social reaction to a divorce.

Secondly, it is difficult for women in Korea to be financially independent. They have been raised to see their real vocation as one of supporting and caring for their

husbands. (Tai Young Lee, 1979, p. 65). Many women are poorly trained, and ill-prepared for today's labour market. Thus, facing the work world is a difficult experience for many women.

Thirdly, the researcher speculates that the percentage of separated and divorced women might be low because the interviewers were not able to reach this particular population. Because divorce and separation is still very much frowned upon by Koreans, many divorced and separated Korean-Canadian women apparently prefer to avoid the Korean community. Many of them either lead a fairly isolated life, or assimilate into the larger Canadian community, which tends to be less judgmental in this regard. It is possible that the actual percentage of divorced or separated Korean-Canadian women may well exceed the figure reflected in this study.

5.1.3. Education

Many Koreans came to Canada with a high level of education. Kim's (1976) study showed that the mean number of years of schooling for Korean-Canadian males in his sample group was 14.53 years and for the Korean female, 12.63 years. Park's (1982) study showed that 35% of the Korean-Canadians were college or university graduates.

The educational characteristics of the respondents in this study was consistent with these findings. Forty-four percent of the respondents were college or university graduates. The respondents' level of education is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3

Level of Education Achieved by
Korean-Canadian Women

Education Level	Level Achieved	
	In Korea	In Canada
Elementary	9%	0%
Junior/High	9%	0%
Senior High	38%	1%
College	4%	8%
University	38%	8%
Post Grad	2%	3%
Total	100%	20%

N=100

Table 4

Level of Education Achieved By
The Spouses

Education Level	Level Achieved	
	In Korea	In Canada
Elementary	1%	0%
Junior High	9%	0%
Senior High	16%	0%
College	8%	3%
University	47%	8%
Post Grad	11%	3%
Total	92%	14%

N=92

The majority of our respondents (75%) arrived in Canada between the ages of 20-40,

and most of them had completed their education in Korea. The columns entitled "highest level of education achieved in Canada" includes the respondents who came to Canada at an early age, thus having received most of their education in Canada, and some women who went back for college or university education after coming to Canada, even if they already had a college or university degree from Korea.

At first glance the figure for the highest education completed in Korea for elementary and junior high school appears relatively high. This is because it includes the women whose total educational level is that of elementary and junior high school in Korea as well as group of young people who came to Canada while attending either elementary or junior high school. Thus, although they only completed elementary or junior high school in Korea, most of these young people continued their high school or university education in Canada.

It was not surprising to find that significantly more males than females completed university or college in Korea. This study found that 66% of married males were reported to have completed post secondary education, while only 44% of all Korean-Canadian women had achieved this level of education. It is important to note that the figure of 66% includes only married males. Also, this only includes the spouses of married, separated and divorced women. It is likely that this figure, as well as the figure for level of education achieved in Canada for spouse would be greater if all Korean-Canadian males were considered.

Overall, there was no statistically significant correlation between level of education and other variables such as type of work, satisfaction with decision to migrate or income level. The only significant correlation was the one between level of education and respondents' fluency in English language upon arrival. There was a moderate (0.534) correlation between these two areas. As might have been expected, the women with post secondary education upon arrival in Canada were more fluent in English than were those without post secondary education.

5.1.4. Religious Affiliation

Eighty-six percent of the respondents reported some religious affiliation with a significant (79%) portion of respondents reporting as Christians.

Table 5

Religious Affiliation of Korean-Canadian Women

Religion	Percentage
Protestant	68%
Roman Catholic	11%
Buddhists	7%
Other	14%
Total	100% ; N=100

As Park (1982) explained in his study, religion plays a vital role in the lives of Korean immigrants. Park's explanation that the church offers essential social services to every age group and that church has evolved into the place where new immigrants meet old friends and make new ones, appears to be an accurate assessment.

However, a slight caution should be noted in that a large portion of the names in the directory compiled by The Korean-Canadian Cultural Association of Metropolitan Toronto originally came from various church directories. Hence, there could be a bias in the names obtained in this manner.

5.1.5. Reasons for Immigration

It is generally assumed within the Korean community that the main reason Koreans immigrate to Canada is the promise of a better future for their children. The findings of this study challenge this premise.

Table 6

Reasons for Immigration

Reason for Immigration	Percentage
Better future for the children	16%
To improve economic position and standard of living	16%
Desire to travel and to see the world	15%
Fiance or husband in Canada	14%
Accompany parents (for younger respondents)	11%
To study	10%
To start a business	5%
To be nearer to relatives	5%
Due to Korea's political instability	4%
Other	4%
Total	100%

N=100

Our data suggests that there are several factors contributing to the decision to immigrate, and that the promise of a better future for their children is only one of them.

Seventy-six percent of the respondents felt they had a voice in their decision to immigrate. Of the respondents who did not feel that they had any say in this decision making process, some stated that they were too young and their parents did not consult them. For others, their husbands insisted on immigrating despite their opposition.

Seventy-four percent of the respondents reported being satisfied with their decision to immigrate. Twenty-six percent of the respondents were dissatisfied with having immigrated to Canada. There were a variety of reasons for the dissatisfaction. Some of the comments were: "too many difficulties due to language and cultural differences"; "miss family and friends back in Korea"; and "too much work for a woman - working full time, cooking, cleaning, looking after children", etc. One of the older respondents who has been in Canada for less than two years said she felt like a "bird that is caged". She found the English language too difficult to grasp, and generally felt very lost.

When respondents were asked what they found to be most advantageous in having immigrated to Canada from a woman's perspective, the major theme was that women were treated more equally with men in Canada than they were in Korea. A variety of responses in the same theme were: "a woman can do anything she wants to, if she so desires"; "a woman can have a rewarding career if she so desires"; "Canadian society is more family oriented - my husband spends more time with me and my children than when we were living in Korea"; and "there is less opportunity for husbands to have extra-marital affairs".

Some of the disadvantages for having immigrated to Canada from a woman's perspective were: discrimination (as a woman, as an immigrant and as a visible minority); language difficulties; the sadness resulting from living in a "foreign land" where one is never totally accepted; and the fact that in order to get anywhere financially, a woman has to participate in the work force.

While many pros and cons were cited for having immigrated, one factor appeared fairly clear - for most of the Korean-Canadian women, Canada is now their home. This is indicated by the fact that the majority (79%) of the respondents are now Canadian citizens.

5.1.6. Length of Sojourn in Canada

The length of the respondents' sojourn in Canada varied from one to twenty years. The majority (75%) of those surveyed have been in Canada for five to fourteen years. These figures indicate that the majority of respondents arrived in Canada between 1969 and 1979.

Table 7

Length of Sojourn in Canada

Length of Sojourn	Percentage
less than 2 years	8%
less than 5 years	13%
less than 10 years	46%
less than 15 years	29%
less than 20 years	4%
Total	100% N=100

The interviews revealed that 27% of the women came to Canada by themselves. Of these respondents, 14% of the women came to join their fiances or husbands. Fifty-one percent of the respondents indicated that they came to Canada under the "nominated-relative" immigration category.

Another interesting finding was the correlation between length of sojourn and satisfaction with decision to immigrate. Hurh Won Moo (1977) postulated a hypothetical model of Critical Phases in Adaptation Process.

According to Hurh, the first phase is the excitement phase. This refers to the initial several months after the immigrant's arrival in a new country. There is a sense of satisfaction, accomplishment and relief that the immigrant has finally "made it" safely to the country he had dreamed of.

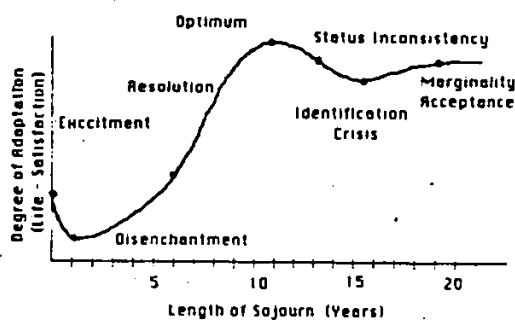
These elated feelings are normally short-lived, and will soon be followed by the period of disenchantment, approximately coinciding with the first year of having arrived in a new country. The immigrant's dream begins to fade when he is confronted with the harsh reality of the language barrier, unemployment or underemployment, social isolation and culture shock, in general. At this stage the immigrant may wonder whether he can really "make it" and may regret having left "home". This is the most critical phase in the entire adaptation process, especially for those who are relatively older and have had high pre-immigration occupational status. This period may continue for another year, or two, until the immigrant begins to realize that his expectations were false and begins to cope with day-to-day survival problems.

The third phase, cited by Hurh, is the resolution phase. At this stage, the immigrant is usually employed, language is improving, the family income is stable and he may even own a car. Although some initial disillusionment may linger, the immigrant has now developed a taste for material affluence (purchasing a colour T.V., a new car, a house, etc.), and by approximately the tenth year or so, his past aspirations may be revitalized. Simply put, he is going to "make it after all". This could be identified as the optimum stage.

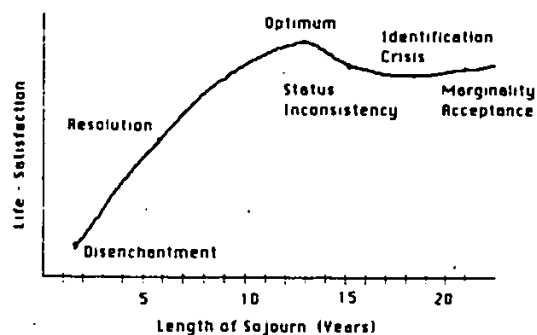
However, as immigrants reach the optimum level of adaptation and compete with members of the dominant group, they will begin to discover social marginality as a result of limited social assimilation and discrimination. A collective sense of marginality may lead to an identification crisis and finally to the emergence of a new ethnic identity.

Hurh's hypothetical model of Critical Phases in Adaptation Process is illustrated in Graph 1. This study indicated a similar adaptation and satisfaction process. The length of sojourn and satisfaction with their decision to immigrate to Canada found in this study is outlined in Graph 2.

GRAPH 1
CRITICAL PHASES IN ADAPTATION PROCESS
A HYPOTHETICAL MODEL



GRAPH 2
LENGTH OF SOJOURN VERSUS LIFE SATISFACTION



5.2. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

5.2.1. Marital Relationship

Of the respondents who were presently married, the length of marriage varied, ranging from several months to 40 years, peaking at 10-20 years.

A significant majority (66%) of this group were married in Korea, before immigrating to Canada. Ten percent of the married respondents met their spouses in Canada, while 21% of the respondents met their husbands either by going back to Korea for a visit, or coming to Canada at their fiancé's invitation. Of those Korean-Canadian women who returned to Korea to find a suitable spouse, a large number were "parcel marriages". This terminology implies that one brings one's spouse from Korea like a parcel (Cho, 1984, p. 19). "Parcel marriage" is characterized by a matchmaking process by relatives or friends, and a very short courtship (generally one to three months). It was anticipated that there would be a higher rate of separation or divorce for "parcel marriages" due to their short courtship and differences of Korean and Canadian life-styles. However, there was no conclusive correlation between these two factors. Seven percent of the women interviewed were separated or divorced and this finding did not provide enough data from which to draw any firm conclusions.

It is interesting to note that twice as many Korean immigrants have since married Koreans living in Korea rather than Koreans living in Canada. One possible explanation is that the Korean community in Canada is still relatively small and many people discover that it is difficult to find appropriate mates within Canada. Yet, 83% of the unmarried respondents indicated that they would prefer to marry Korean males living in North America rather than Korean males living in Korea. This seems to indicate some discrepancy between what they would prefer and the reality of what they actually did.

When there were differences of opinion on major issues between the marital couple, 63% of the respondents indicated that they compromised with their husbands. Thirty-six percent said they obeyed their husbands' decision and 1% said they did what they wished. According to the traditional Korean perspective, women have very little voice in the decision making process, as mentioned previously in this study. The fact that 63% do compromise indicates considerable change from the traditional male-female relationship. However, the fact that 36% of the respondents reported that they still go along with their husbands' decisions indicates that change may be fast, but many are holding to traditional roles. A typical response was "I express my view but at the end, I follow my husband's decision". Another frequent response was, "I usually go along with my husband's decision just to appease him, and once he calms down, I approach him gently and talk it over with him. This appears to work better than fighting him".

The analysis of the data indicated that husbands of women, aged 20-30 years, tended to help with the household chores more frequently than any other age group. However, there was no significant correlation between length of sojourn in Canada and frequency of husband's help in the household chores.

Respondents identified financial problems, children's education and rearing concerns, and differences of life-styles as the major areas of difficulty in the marriage.

Other difficulties were the issue of equality, not enough time together, and parent or in-law problems. A very small minority of the respondents (1%) cited physical violence as a major marital problem. However, the researcher suspects that the incidents of physical violence might be higher than indicated. It is possible that many respondents might be reluctant to reveal this kind of information, especially in an interview format. Given the traditional Korean concept of women, it is also possible that some women do not necessarily see it as a problem. Overall, 63% of the respondents cited at least one of the above areas as a problem in their marriage.

5.2.2. Employment

As indicated in Table 8, 74% of the respondents were employed outside the home.

Table 8

Distribution of Employment of Korean-Canadian Women

Distribution of Employment	Percentage	
Full time	55%	
Part time	19%	
Student	10%	
Unemployed	16%	
Total	100%	N=100

Of the respondents who were employed, 80% cited financial necessity as their main reason for working outside the home. Other reasons for working were: to have some extra income (3%); enjoyment of work (7%); children grown and there is no need to be at home (7%) and other (3%). An analysis of the occupational characteristics of the working respondents is as follows:

Table 9

Distribution of
Korean-Canadian Women's Occupations

Occupation	Percentage
Convenience Stores	30%
Private Business	17%
Clerical	17%
Technician	15%
Factory	8%
Professional	8%
Labour	3%
Other	2%
Total	100% N=100

Convenience stores included Mac's Milk, Becker's, variety and grocery stores. Most of the women owned and operated these stores with their husbands. Technicians included electrical technicians, hairdressers, and sewing machine operators requiring specific skills. Professionals included nurses, interior designers, commercial artists, piano instructors, social workers, accountants and pharmacists. Private business included women who were operating hardware stores, donut shops, fast food restaurants and dry cleaners. Most of the respondents in this category owned and operated these businesses with their husbands.

It is speculated that there could be several reasons for the high concentration of Korean-Canadian women working in private business and convenience stores. Without a Canadian education and work experience, immigrant women are severely restricted in their access to rewarding employment. If social mobility is not readily attainable through academic or occupational means, then financial upward mobility is one of the very few avenues open to them. Operating a small business is often a family project, with every able member contributing to the family income. Women appear to play a major role in maintaining these businesses, often working long hours.

Thirty-four percent of the working women were satisfied with their job, 7% were dissatisfied, and 59% did not have a strong feeling one way or the other. Ninety-three percent of the women reported that their husbands were employed.

Of the employed women, the majority consensus was that they were often physically tired because they are still responsible for most of the housework. They also reported feeling that there is not enough time to spend with the family, let alone have some time for themselves.

Of the women who were not employed and were staying at home, 30% reported that they felt as if they were psychologically regressing rather than progressing. Twenty-five percent reported that it was difficult to adjust to Canadian society. Fourteen percent reported feeling isolated or lonely. Surprisingly, no one reported not having any decision-making power or not having any say in financial matters because they were not participating in the work force.

Forty-five percent of the respondents who were employed stated that they had experienced discrimination at work, at least once. One of the most common complaints centred on language difficulty, and attendant problems in understanding their legal rights, with the result that they were taken advantage of by the management. There were also complaints of receiving salaries below the minimum wage. Some respondents also felt that it was difficult to become part of the social life at work.

Overall, the findings regarding the problems faced by the respondents in this study appear to support the findings of other studies (Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, 1979; Arnopoulos, 1979). Immigrant women in the work force are in a vulnerable position, and they do indeed put in two shifts, one at the place of employment and one at home.

5.2.3. Income

Income level varied for respondents, as is indicated in Table 10, ranging from no income to more than \$40,000 dollars.

Table 10

Income of Korean-Canadian Women and Their Spouses

Income Range	Women	Spouses
\$0	21%	3%
\$1 - \$ 5,000	11%	3%
\$ 5,001 - \$10,000	13%	4%
\$10,001 - \$20,000	34%	23%
\$20,001 - \$30,000	13%	23%
\$30,001 - \$40,000	2%	15%
\$40,000 +	1%	6%
unknown	5%	9%
Total	100%	100%

N=100

The highest percentage of the women's income (34%) fell in the \$10,001 - 20,000 category, for working Korean-Canadian women. The highest percentage of income (23% and 23%) for their spouses fell in the \$10,001 - \$20,000 and \$20,001 - \$30,000 category. The 1981 census by Statistics Canada indicated that the husbands of working women earned an average salary of \$23,426 annually. Wives earned an average salary of \$10,190 annually. Hence, Korean -Canadian men and women's income levels appear to be similar to the 1981 Statistics Canada average.

The respondents who stated that they did not know their own and their spouse's income level appear to include two groups of respondents - those who left all financial matters up to their husbands and did not have any knowledge of their financial situation and those who did not feel comfortable revealing their income level to the

interviewers. Overall, respondents were fairly resistant to revealing this particular information. Several respondents actually said that they make more than the amount they are indicating, but did not want it to be reported as such. One respondent for example, was worried that if it became known that Korean-Canadians make more than an average Canadian, and yet were not contributing to various Canadian charities, that Koreans would get a "bad" name. Generally speaking, it was the interviewers' impression that the mean level of income was higher than is actually reflected in the data reported herein.

Thirty-four percent of the married respondents reported that they look after the financial matters at home (paying bills, banking, etc.). Twenty-one percent reported that their husbands look after the financial matters and 45% reported that it was done jointly.

On the other hand, only 10% of the married women reported that they control the finances. Thirty percent reported that their husbands control the finances and 60% reported that they both have a say in it.

Sixty-seven percent of the married respondents had joint bank accounts, 20% had accounts only in the husband's name, and 3% had accounts only in the wife's name. Ten percent of the married respondents had accounts in the name of each spouse.

Thirty-nine percent of the respondents reported that they did not have any extra money left over and the other 61% stated that they spent their extra money for entertainment, dining out, etc.

Of the women employed, 35% believed that they had a greater say in financial matter of their family because they were contributing to the family income. Sixty-five percent however, felt that being employed outside the home did not make any difference.

5.2.4. Social Integration and Leisure Activities

One of the areas of interest in the study was the extent of Korean-Canadian women's integration into Canadian society. The process of changing from a newly arrived immigrant to a settled citizen of the new country is a process of penetrating many different spheres of interest and activity in the new country and involving oneself in these.

In this study, 80% of the respondents stated that the majority of their friends or acquaintances were Koreans. The other 20% stated that their friends and acquaintances were of various nationalities.

Seventy-four percent of the respondents had some affiliation with the Korean organizations. Among these, the majority (78%), cited church as one of their points of contact. Other organizations mentioned included The Korean-Canadian Cultural Association, alumni, charity organizations and business organizations. Only 10% of the respondents had some affiliation with non-Korean organizations. Overall, the Korean-Canadian women in Toronto still appear to identify with the Korean community rather than the Canadian community at large.

Several respondents reported that their husbands did not approve of their participation in the church or community organizations. As a result, some women felt isolated, while others felt guilty when they did participate in community organizations, or have some time to themselves. For example, one woman commented that her husband encouraged her to go out and have some time to herself. However, she felt guilty about this and stays home despite her husband's encouragement. Another young woman felt guilty about continuing her education after her marriage. She felt that she should either be employed, and thus contributing to the family income, or having children. Various comments from the respondents appear to indicate that many Korean women still feel guilty about fulfilling themselves. They

feel that their husbands' and children's needs should come before their own. They are so accustomed to putting everybody else's needs first that even when they are offered a chance to fulfill themselves, or even just have some time for themselves, they do not feel comfortable about it and often do not take advantage of it. As one woman stated:

"it is natural that men go out to work and women stay home and meet the emotional needs of her husband. I don't understand what all the fuss is about - this fulfilling one's self. Doesn't woman's fulfillment come from fulfillment of her husband's and her children's dreams?"

There was a very slight correlation (0.327) between the age of arrival in Canada and the nationality of a majority of their friends. The respondents who arrived in Canada at an early age tended to have friends from various nationalities, whereas the respondents who arrived at a later age, 30 or older, tended to have mainly Korean friends. However, it was not as significant as had been anticipated.

There was also a very slight correlation (0.300) between length of sojourn in Canada and the nationality of their friends. The respondents who have been in Canada for a longer period tended to have friends of various nationalities. Respondents who have been in Canada for a shorter period of time tend to have primarily Korean friends. Again, it was not as significant as had been anticipated.

The researcher anticipated that respondents who arrived in Canada at a young age and those who had been in Canada for an extended period of time would have more affiliation with the non-Korean organizations. This assumption did not materialize. The correlation between length of sojourn and participation in Canadian society was .012 and the correlation between age at arrival and participation in Canadian society was .001. It appears that Korean-Canadian women, regardless of length of sojourn, or age of arrival, still affiliate primarily with the Korean community in Toronto.

This study indicated that 28% of the respondents read only Korean newspapers or magazines, as compared to 7% who read such materials in English. Others read a

combination of both English and Koreans magazines and newspapers. Only 1% did not read either.

A majority of the respondents (75%) indicated that they spent their leisure time with their family. Leisure time was spent mainly reading, watching T.V., and visiting friends. Five percent of the respondents felt that they did not have any leisure time, so to speak. One woman stated:

I have no leisure time. When I have a few moments, I attempt to finish the housework that needs to be done. Between working about 10 hours a day at the store, preparing meals, keeping the house clean, looking after my three children and trying to be supportive of my husband, who has gone back to school, I am left exhausted.

Fifty-six percent of the respondents stated that they took a vacation at least once a year. This appears to indicate that a majority of respondents have the financial means and emotional readiness to adapt the North American vacation pattern. However, 18% of the respondents have never taken a vacation since arriving in Canada. It is possible that this figure is indicative of the day-to-day survival concerns that a small minority still face. The following table illustrates the frequency of vacations by the respondents.

Table 11

Frequency of Vacation

Frequency	Percentage
More than twice per year	13%
Once a year	43%
Once every two years	10%
Once every three years	6%
Once every five years	5%
Never	18%
Other	5%
Total	100% N=100

5.2.5. Relationship with Children

This study found that 83% of married respondents had two or more children, and 77% had either two or three children.

Table 12
Number of Children

Number of children	Percentage
0	4%
1	13%
2	41%
3	33%
4	7%
5	2%
Total	100% N=100

Inability to communicate effectively, the generation gap, and cultural gaps were fairly evenly distributed as the main problems cited by the respondents in their relationship with their children.

One common conflict in families was the discord created by the collision between the old and new cultural values. Children appear to assimilate into Canadian society with relative ease. They adopt the dress, customs and habits of the new country. Often their parents, who abide by the traditional ways, feel that their children are becoming strangers to them. The parents exert pressures on their children to make them maintain Korean traditions and to mingle socially with their own ethnic group. At times, children become rebellious, discard parental controls and standards of conduct. One example is a woman with a 17 year old daughter, who said:

...there has been a lot of conflict in our household for last two years. We have been in Canada for about 10 years and my daughter has become so Canadianized that we don't know what to do with her. She goes to parties, has Canadian boyfriends and when we ground her for coming home late, she

sneaks out. She doesn't want to have any interaction with Koreans, saying that they are conservative and boring. All these years, we assumed that she would go to university, but now she says that she isn't so sure about that either. One of the reasons we immigrated to Canada was to provide her with better educational system, so that she can have a brighter future, but she says that we are pushing our own values and dreams upon her. We just don't understand her way of thinking or her value system any more. Now she comes home and shuts herself up in her room. There is very little communication: When we try to talk to each other, all we end up doing is screaming at each other. I don't know what to do with her any more.

One woman said that although her son tends to think that the problems between his parents and himself are related to "generation gap", she herself feels that there is more of a cultural difference than a generation gap. Another woman was very concerned that her children might lose their Korean identity. She stated that when her children are in high school, she plans to send them to Korea for a year or so in order to instill some understanding of Korean culture.

Some women were concerned because their children spoke English all the time. On the other hand, others who had very young children worried that speaking only Korean at home would hinder their ability to speak English when they enrolled in school. They were concerned that their children might have difficulty learning because of their inability to understand the language.

Of the respondents who had school-age children, 11% felt that they had a good understanding of the Canadian educational system. Sixty-eight percent thought that they knew enough to get by and 21% thought that they knew very little about the Canadian educational system.

Forty-seven percent of the respondents with school-age children attended meetings at school regularly, 38% attended about half the meetings, and 15% seldom attended. Of the respondents with school-age children, 38% indicated that she, the mother, was the one who attended school meetings, while 19% stated that their husbands went, and 37% said they went together, but 4% had never attended any meetings at school.

Some of the respondents commented that they knew very little about the Canadian school or educational system, but they would like to understand it better. They expressed a need for seminars or an orientation regarding the Canadian school system. Some expressed their hesitancy to go to meetings at school because of their difficulty with the English language. One respondent felt that it was almost useless to go because she did not understand what the teachers are saying. She commented that in Korea, she used to go to all the meetings. A few respondents with older children commented that their children explain the school system to them.

Much of the literature (Parson, 1983; Ferguson, 1975) indicates that children tend to reject their parent's background because their speech is heavily accented and incorrect. However, this finding was not supported in our study. Only 2% of the respondents felt that their children were embarrassed by them. It is also interesting to note that respondents in this study showed a high level of awareness of their children's activities. An overwhelming number (94%) of the respondents reported that they knew most of their children's friends and indicated that their children visit their friends, and bring their friends home. Thus, perhaps the relationship between the parents and children may not be as unsatisfactory as suggested by some literature. However, it is important to note that this study is only indicative of the mothers' perspective and it is difficult to surmise the children's point of view.

It is also interesting to note that 48% of the mothers believed that they were even more protective of their children because they were in Canada. This was especially so with mothers who had daughters. There appeared to be a generalized fear about "Canadian boys". Twenty-seven percent of the mothers felt that they tended to be more liberal with their children, and 9% felt that their children were too independent.

Forty-seven percent of the respondents who had young children indicated that they relied on either their own family (for example, grandparents) or their relatives to look

after their children when they were not at home. Only 2% utilized day care and 11% utilized babysitters other than relatives. Thirty-four percent indicated that they often left their children (ages 4-12) to play by themselves.

Several women expressed hesitancy about utilizing day care centres. The cultural differences which affect rearing practices of children and language difficulties appeared to be the main obstacles to utilizing day care. Many women mentioned cost as an obstacle. Fifty-five percent of the respondents with young children felt that day care facilities were adequate while 45% felt that they were inadequate.

5.2.6. Relationship with Parents and In-laws

Several studies (Kim, 1980; Yu, 1980) have suggested that interactional conflicts with in-laws and other relatives and family members is one of the major sources of conflict for a Korean immigrant family. This study attempted to assess this situation. It was found that 19% of the married respondents had their mothers-in-law living with them. Only 1% of the respondents had their fathers-in-law living with them, and 1% had both in-laws living with them.

Compared to this figure, only 2% of the married respondents had their own parents living with their family. This appears to reinforce the traditional Korean family system where women are expected to be affiliated with the husband's family rather than her family of origin.

The traditional Korean values regarding parents and in-laws still appear to play a major role in the lives of the respondents since 73% did not wish to have either their parents or their in-laws admitted to a nursing home.

We anticipated that younger Korean-Canadian women or those who have been in Canada for a longer period of time might be more willing to have their parents or in-laws in a nursing home. This assumption was not supported. The fact that Korean-

Canadian women, regardless of their age or their length of sojourn in Canada, still felt uncomfortable about having their parents or in-laws living in a nursing home, appears to indicate that although they tend to be nuclear family oriented, filial piety still appears to remain the basis for family conduct.

The two major problems encountered by the women who have their in-laws or their own parents living with them, were the differences in their ways of thinking and their life-style. Other problems cited by the respondents were, conflict regarding child-rearing practices and the financial burden involved in having their parents or in-laws living with them.

Some respondents indicated that it was difficult to pinpoint the hardship of in-laws living with them. They felt that it was just inconvenient. One respondent commented that there was no conflict between herself and her mother-in-law because she obeyed her mother-in-law one hundred percent. One respondent commented that there is tension between her in-laws and her children. The grandparents stress "Koreanness" so much that children are beginning to resent it and rebel against it. When this happens, the in-laws blame the parents for not bringing up their children properly.

5.2.7. Divorced and Separated Respondents

Of the small group of separated or divorced respondents, the majority separated or divorced three to five years after their marriage.

All respondents in this category cited personality conflict as one of the major reasons leading to their separation. Also cited was physical violence as at least one of the reasons leading to their separation. Other reasons were lack of affection, drinking, gambling, the issue of equality, extra-marital affairs and different life styles.

Overall, the findings of this study support the findings of research by others in the area of immigrant families. Yu, (1980) indicates that problems arise within the

Korean family in the process of adjustment to life in a new setting. He believes that the high economic participation rate among Korean women weakens the male-dominant role of the traditional family as women become partners in economic activity. They no longer obediently accept the superior positions of males, who in turn, are already faced with the difficulty of adjusting to a new language and culture, problems of employment and underemployment, and find it difficult to tolerate their weakening social role in the family. Two forces - the traditional authoritarian values and the new value system embedded in the equalitarian orientation, collide within the family.

Kim, (1980) indicates that in the Korean-American family, four specific problems stand out as sources of conflict: marital maladjustment; sex-role difficulty (usually problems of male dominance); intergenerational conflict (primarily due to communication problems and cultural gaps); and interactional conflicts with in-laws, other relatives and family members. Our study indicates that these are indeed sensitive and potential areas of conflict for a Korean immigrant family.

5.3. MAJOR DIFFICULTIES

Table 13 illustrates the percentage of 15 potential problem areas upon arrival and currently, as rated by the respondents. Discussions of the major findings in the areas of language, discrimination and other major problems follow Table 13.

Table 13

Major Difficulties Upon Arrival and Currently

Major Areas	Difficulty upon Arrival Percentage	Difficulty Currently Percentage
Language	69%	38%
Loneliness	37%	18%
Mental/emotional stress	32%	20%
Unemployment and economic difficulties	26%	14%
Underemployment	15%	8%
Status inconsistency	14%	12%
Physical stress	13%	8%
Culture shock	12%	4%
Separation of families	9%	4%
Children's educational concerns	9%	27%
Discrimination	8%	6%
Housing	6%	6%
Relationship with Parents or in-laws	6%	9%
Day care	3%	3%
Relationship with children	3%	18%

N=100

5.3.1. Language Training and Fluency in English Language

Table 13 indicates that language is by far the most problematic area for Koreans upon arrival and it continues to be problematic to 38%. This is so in spite of the fact that a majority (67%) of the respondents have attended English classes for at least one course since arriving in Canada. Many studies (McGowan, 1982; Parson, 1983), indicate that the majority of immigrant women do not pursue English studies. In contrast, our sample group showed a relatively high percentage of women who had pursued English language classes.

The duration of attendance at English classes varied, ranging from one month to three years. Sixty percent of the respondents who have attended English classes did so for six months because many English courses run for a six month period.

An overwhelming number of the respondents (82%) believed that English classes were helpful to them. Ninety percent stated that they attended English classes to become more fluent in English. Other reasons cited were: in order to get a job; because they had some leisure time; and to make friends.

The three most common reasons for terminating English classes were: they got a job; they had no time to spare; and they felt that they learned enough English to get by. Other reasons were to look after children, family objection (including the husband), and fatigue.

The literature review (McGowan, 1982; The Report of Joint Task Force on Immigrant Women, 1979; A Report on Immigrant Women in the Labour Force, 1975) indicates that in the settlement of immigrant women in Canada, nothing is more important than language training. These reports stress that immigrant women who cannot speak English or French will have serious difficulties finding employment of any kind. They may also experience many social and family problems in Canada. Many immigrant women without English or French also become very dependent on their husbands and children for translation, and as a result, lose respect within the family. It seems clear that the most important step for the immigrant woman is to learn English as quickly as possible.

This study found that 52% of the respondents still had difficulty communicating with doctors, dentists, government agencies, etc., and of this group, 45% relied on their family (husband and children) to interpret for them. Table 14 illustrates the level of fluency in English immediately upon arrival and currently.

Table 14

Level of Fluency in English Upon Arrival
and Presently

	Reading		Speaking		Writing		Understanding	
	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now	Then	Now
Very Good	1%	10%	0%	5%	0%	7%	0%	7%
Good	16%	27%	1%	21%	15%	27%	4%	20%
Fair	37%	51%	22%	60%	40%	51%	33%	60%
Poor	29%	11%	44%	12%	28%	13%	40%	12%
Very Poor	17%	1%	33%	2%	17%	2%	23%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

N=100

There was a slight correlation (0.315) between length of sojourn in Canada and fluency in English. However, it was not as significant as had been anticipated.

This study also indicates that the respondents who arrived in Canada at a young age (twenty years or younger) showed marked fluency in English. However, for the respondents who arrived at a later age (thirty years and older), there was no significant improvement in English language, regardless of their length of sojourn.

Forty-four percent of the respondents spoke Korean to their children at home, 3% English, and 34% both Korean and English. The survey also shows that 33% of the children responded in Korean, 25% in English and 23% bilingually. For 19% of the respondents, these two questions were not applicable because they either did not have any children or their children were not old enough to speak.

Twenty-two percent of the respondents reported feeling isolated at times when their family (usually their children) speak English.

As the study by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (1970)

indicates, the difficulty of learning the language and the time required is often underestimated. In this study of immigrant professionals, most of whom knew some English upon arrival, it took approximately three years to learn to speak the language well. It took five to six years to think in English, to express themselves spontaneously, and to express their ideas in writing and to feel at ease in social gatherings. The study concluded that to attain this kind of proficiency, previous knowledge of the language, a high level of intelligence, general linguistic ability, intense study and strong motivation through occupational pressures is needed.

The findings of this study appears to verify the fact that acquisition of the language may be a long and slow process and may remain highly imperfect and be arrested at various plateaus. This is fairly apparent when it can be seen that 79% of the respondents have been in Canada for 5 to 20 years and yet 38% of the respondents report that language is still a problem.

5.3.2. Discrimination

Many immigrants, particularly those who belong to the "visible" minorities, face an apparently increasing level of discrimination and prejudice in Canada. The findings of a recent study by Wilson A. Head (1981) indicates that when 324 respondents from West India, South Asia and Europe were asked if discrimination existed in Toronto, an affirmative answer was given by almost 90% of West Indians, 72.2% of South Asians, but only 35.3% of Europeans. Fifty-four percent of all respondents had had personal experience of discrimination which they perceived as racial or ethnic. More than 40% of West Indians felt that discrimination was increasing, an assessment which was shared by a smaller proportion of South Asians and Europeans.

The findings of this study show a similar response. It was found that 78% of the respondents believed that discrimination existed and that 59% said they had actually experienced discrimination. Thirteen percent of the respondents felt that discrimination was increasing.

Where discrimination was reported to have occurred, it manifested itself in different forms. Incidents occurred in subtle ways and also more openly in personal dealings with people. For example, several respondents indicated that although they could not prove it, they sensed racial discrimination. Some were more overt. Several respondents who operate small variety stores said that people (including children) would come into the store and call them derogatory names and then throw their money at them - as if to say "here, take your dirty money".

Several respondents said that when they first arrived in Canada, they were not aware of racial discrimination because they did not understand what people were saying to them. Now that they understand English better, the full impact has become more apparent.

What was interesting about the issue of discrimination was that when discrimination was rated against other potential problem areas, it ranked eleventh out of the possible fifteen problem areas, both when they first arrived in Canada and presently. It appears that although discrimination exists, there are other more immediate and overwhelming areas of concern.

5.3.3. Other Major Problems

The study indicated the following five areas as the most difficult areas upon arrival in Canada. In the order of difficulty, they were: language, loneliness, mental/emotional stress, unemployment and economic difficulties, and underemployment.

It appears that the most common problems upon arrival tended to be survival issues and that these survival issues were intimately interlinked with the mental health of the Korean-Canadian immigrant women. It can be noted that these problem areas appear to coincide with the period of disenchantment previously mentioned in the

hypothetical model by Hurh. He indicated that within the first year, the immigrant is confronted with harsh realities of the language barrier, unemployment and underemployment, social isolation, and culture shock in general.

The most difficult areas currently experienced by the Korean-Canadian women in order of difficulty are as follows: language, children's educational concern; mental/emotional stress; loneliness; and relationship with children.

Hence, the study appears to indicate that loneliness and mental/emotional stress still occupy a prominent place in terms of difficulty. It seems that although issues have shifted from the basic survival concerns to concerns over developmental and relationship issues, the end result is the same - loneliness and mental/emotional stress. It is possible that these problematic areas correlate to Hurh's identification crisis stage as they struggle with their own ethnic identity, and as they realize the limitations of their assimilation process.

Overall, the findings of this study support McGowan's (1982) work which notes that immigrant families adjust to life in Canada in distinct phases. At first, there is great concern with becoming financially secure. Personal, emotional and educational needs come later. This is particularly true for women, who are more isolated than men and whose needs generally receive little attention until long after their husbands and children are settled.

5.4. SOCIAL SERVICES

Studies suggest that most immigrant women and their families need a great deal of assistance with many aspects of their new lives (McGowan, 1982; Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1970). Immigrants, of course, are subject to the normal hazards of life, such as sickness and accidents, housing emergencies, loss of employment and others. These and similar crises may be compounded by problems of

language but even more perhaps by the unfamiliarity with the environment and by cultural inhibitions. These studies suggest that such hazards are much less critical if one can depend on family, kinship groups and the form of support provided within the ethnic group.

This research indicates that the majority do indeed, turn to family, kinship groups and ethnic community, when there is a need for some assistance. Twenty-four percent of the respondents in the study reported that they seek help from their family and relatives when they encounter difficulties. Twenty percent turn to friends, 19% to ministers, 5% to lawyers, 3% to Canadian social agencies, 1% to the police, and 1% to a leader in the Korean community, and 5% turn to other sources. Twenty-five percent of the respondents do not seek help.

The above figures appear to reflect the fact that 73% of the women had relatives or friends already residing in Canada at the time of their arrival. This would suggest that the vast majority of the respondents had potential support systems which might have helped their initial adjustment in Canada.

This study found that only 15% of the respondents had sought assistance from non-Korean social agencies. For the 85% who did not seek assistance from non-Korean social agencies, their reasons were as follows: they wanted to resolve it by themselves (47%); language difficulties (23%); reluctance to reveal their difficulty to others (20%); and cultural differences (10%). As suggested by the study of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto in 1970, there appears to be much reluctance to ask public agencies for help. This reluctance to seek help from "outsiders" is often remarked upon by observers as well as by the immigrants themselves.

One of the most critical findings of this research is that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (94%) believe that there is a need for a Korean-speaking social

service agency in Metro Toronto area. Eighty-six percent of the respondents said that they would utilize such services if they were made available. The counselling service (for employment, family, marital and legal aid) was rated the highest in terms of need (76%), followed by a need for a senior citizen home (38%), shelters for emergency needs (2%), and day care (2%).

Eighty-one percent of the respondents also indicated a need for a drop-in center where Korean-Canadian women could freely drop by for socialization, or planned discussions and lectures covering areas that would be helpful to them in their daily life in Canada.

As the 1970 study by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto suggests, it appears that ethnic organizations have a unique role to play in providing support to immigrant groups in their attempt to adapt themselves to their new community. Although there are many social services available within Metro Toronto area, one questions whether they are equipped to meet the needs of immigrant women. McGowan (1982, p. 8) suggests that despite the sophisticated services available to Canadians, most of the simple and practical needs of immigrant women and their families go unmet because there are insufficient programs or facilities to meet their needs. McGowan claims that Canadian social service systems deal almost exclusively with English or French Canadian cultural norms, attitudes and problems. Hence, in a majority of Canadian communities, the social services are not representative of the multicultural make-up of our society. This means that most newcomers coming to these services for assistance will work with someone from a different culture who generally does not speak their language. As effective counselling is dependent on the ability to communicate both verbally and non-verbally, a number of factors may intervene to create a barrier to effective counselling. Many newcomers entering the counselling process may not be fluent in the English language and yet the reality is that most government agencies and institutions (such as schools and hospitals) employ few, if any, multilingual interpreters.

Even if an interpreter is used, either from the community or a family member, this presence of a third person can create a barrier to the development of trust and openness, both of which are essential for establishing a successful interpersonal relationship. It also makes it difficult for the counsellor to enter directly into the dynamics of the relationship. Additionally, when an interpreter intervenes in the counselling process, the counsellor is less able to identify and understand the verbal and non-verbal cues which are important for effective counselling.

McGowan (1982, p. 8) also suggests that the people who work in these places usually have little or no multicultural training or understanding of the difficulties of immigrant women and their families. Biocchi and Radcliffe, (1983), further note that at best, those working with people from a different cultural and linguistic background often rely on cultural profiles for an understanding of an individual's behavior and values. It should be borne in mind that cultural profiles give only a generalized impression of a community. They do not emphasize the individual differences and variations which exist within all cultural groups, nor do they take into account the processes which individuals undergo to organize their lives in a new and different environment. Biocchi and Radcliffe note that there is a tendency on the part of social service agencies to focus the cause of problems on individuals and their cultural differences, neglecting to take into account the total socio-economic context in which they are operating (p. 254).

Overall, this lack of accessible and appropriate social services leaves most immigrant women to fend for themselves in adapting to Canadian society. This can be extremely stressful and difficult, with small problems rapidly growing larger, thus becoming more complicated and difficult to resolve.

The few Canadian social services that actually meet the needs of immigrant women and their families are generally provided by small, community-based agencies or

organizations that are staffed with interpreters who understand the woman's language and share her cultural background.

Regretfully, there are no social service agencies within the Metro Toronto area that are staffed with full time social workers who can serve these Korean women in the language that they can understand. It is not surprising, then, that this research indicates that there is a high demand and need for a Korean speaking social service agency for the 25,000 Koreans living in Metro area, or lacking this priority, at least designated specific staff who are prepared to work with Korean-Canadian women and capable of speaking their language.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, a summary of the study, noteworthy findings, conclusions drawn from the data collected, and subsequent recommendations are presented. Considerations for further research are also presented.

There were three main objectives of the research. The first objective was to examine the socio-demographic characteristics of the Korean-Canadian women between twenty and sixty years of age. The second objective was to explore married Korean-Canadian women's experiences in terms of family relationships, employment, and social participation. The third objective was to compile a profile of the major difficulties and common problems faced by Korean-Canadian women.

The data was gathered through an interview schedule. One hundred Korean-Canadian women participated in the study. The names were randomly drawn from the listings of the 1984 directory of The Korean-Canadian Cultural Association of Metropolitan Toronto, the Korean University Student Association Alumni; several Korean churches, and the Ontario Korean Businessmen's Association, to compile the sample.

6.1. MAJOR FINDINGS

6.1.1. Socio-demographic Characteristics

The data which has been collected during the interviews revealed the following demographic characteristics of the respondents.

This group included 85 married, 6 single, 4 divorced, 3 separated and 2 widowed women with a mean age of 38.6. The educational distribution showed a high standard. Forty-four percent of the sample were college or university graduates. In terms of occupational distribution, 47% of the sample were engaged in operating convenience stores or private business. Seventeen percent of the sample constituted clerical occupations, while technicians and professionals constituted 15% and 8% respectively. General labour occupations constituted 11%. The majority of the respondents (86%) reported some religious affiliation with a significant (79%) portion of respondents reporting as Christians.

The reasons for immigrating to Canada varied. A better future for the children, improvement in economic position and standard of living, desire to travel and to see the world and immigrating to join fiancé or husband in Canada seemed to be the predominant ones in this sample group.

The length of sojourn in Canada varied from one to twenty years with the majority (75%) having been in Canada for five to fourteen years. A majority (76%) of the respondents felt that they had a voice in their decision to immigrate and 74% of the respondents reported being satisfied with their decision to immigrate to Canada. The majority (79%) of the respondents are now Canadian citizens.

6.1.2. Family Relationships, Employment and Social Participation

The analysis of the data of married Korean-Canadian women in Metro Toronto revealed that a significant majority (66%) of this group were married in Korea, before immigrating to Canada. Ten percent of the married respondents had met their spouses in Canada, while 21% of the respondents met their spouses either by going back to Korea for a visit, or coming to Canada at their fiance's invitation.

When there were differences of opinion on major issues between the marital couple, 63% of the respondents compromised with their husbands. Thirty-six percent complied with their husband's decision and 1% did what they wished.

The analysis of the data indicated that husbands of women, aged twenty to thirty years, tended to help with the household chores more frequently than any other age group.

Respondents identified financial problems, children's education and rearing concerns, and differences of life-style as the major areas of difficulty in the marriage.

This research found that 83% of married respondents had two or more children, and 77% had either two or three children.

Inability to communicate effectively, the generation gap, and cultural gaps were fairly evenly distributed as the main problems cited by the respondents in their relationships with their children.

Of the respondents who had school-age children, 11% felt that they had a good understanding of the Canadian educational system. Sixty-eight percent thought they knew enough to get by and 21% thought that they knew very little about the Canadian educational system.

Eighty-five percent of the respondents with school-age children attended meetings at school at least half the time and 15% seldom attended

In terms of relationship with their children, only 2% of the respondents felt that their children were embarrassed by them. It was also interesting to note that respondents showed a high level of awareness of their children's activities. An overwhelming majority (94%) of the respondents reported that they knew most of their children's friends.

A large percentage (47%) of the respondents who had young children indicated that they relied on either their family (for example, grandparents) or their relatives to look after their children when they were not at home. Only 2% utilized day care services.

Fifty-five percent of the respondents with young children felt that day care facilities were adequate, while 45% felt that they were inadequate.

This research found that 21% of the married respondents had one or both of their in-laws living with them. Compared to this figure, only 2% of the married respondents had their own parents living with their family.

The traditional Korean values regarding parents and in-laws still appeared to play a major role with the lives of the respondents, since 73% did not wish to have either their parents or their in-laws admitted to a nursing home.

The two major problems encountered by the women who have their in-laws or their own parents living with them, were the differences in their ways of thinking and their life-style.

This research found that 7% of the sample population were either separated or divorced. All of the respondents in this group cited personality conflict as one of the major reasons leading to their separation or divorce. Another major reason appeared to be that of physical violence.

In terms of employment, the interviews revealed that 74% of the respondents were

employed outside the home. Of the respondents who were employed, financial necessity (80%) appeared to be their main reason for working outside the home.

Of the employed women, the majority consensus was that they were often physically tired because they are still responsible for most of the housework.

Of the women who were not employed and were staying at home, there were reports of feelings of psychological and intellectual regression, difficulty in adjusting to the Canadian society and feelings of isolation.

One-half of the respondents who were employed revealed that they had experienced discrimination at work, at least once.

The highest percentage of the women's income (34%) fell in the \$10,001 - \$20,000 category for working Korean-Canadian women.

Thirty-four percent of the married respondents reported that they look after the financial matters at home. On the other hand, only 10% of the married women reported that they actually controlled the finances.

In terms of social integration and leisure activities, 80% of the respondents reported that the majority of their friends or acquaintances were Koreans. The majority of the respondents (74%) had some affiliation with the Korean organizations, whereas only 10% of the respondents had some affiliation with non-Korean organizations.

Two significant findings were that there was no statistically significant correlations between the age of arrival or length of sojourn in Canada with frequency of affiliation with non-Korean organizations or having non-Korean friends. It appears that Korean-Canadian women, regardless of length of sojourn or age of arrival in Canada still identify and affiliate primarily with the Korean community in Metro Toronto.

A majority of the respondents (75%) indicated that they spend their leisure time with their family and 56% took a vacation at least once a year.

6.1.3. Major Difficulties

Of the 15 potential problem areas outlined, language was rated by far the most problematic area for Korean-Canadian women upon arrival and it continues to be problematic to 38%. This is so in spite of the fact that a majority of the respondents (67%) have attended English classes for at least one course since arriving in Canada.

This study found that 52% of the respondents still had difficulty communicating with doctors, dentists, government agencies, etc., and of this group, 45% relied on their family (husband and children) to interpret for them.

The study indicated that the respondents who arrived in Canada at a young age (twenty years or younger) showed marked fluency in English. However, for the respondents who arrived at a later age (thirty years and older), there was no significant improvement in English language regardless of their length of sojourn.

It was found that 44% of the respondents speak Korean to their children at home; 3% English, and 34% both Korean and English. Twenty-two percent of the respondents reported feeling isolated at times when their family (usually their children) speak English.

The findings of this study appear to indicate that acquisition of the language may be a long and slow process and may remain highly imperfect and be arrested at various plateaus. This is fairly apparent when it can be seen that 79% of the respondents have been in Canada for five to twenty years and yet 38% of the respondents report that language is still a problem.

This study outlined several other areas as problematic. One such area was that of

discrimination. The findings of this study indicate that 78% of the respondents believe that discrimination exists and 59% state that they have actually experienced it.

Overall, the study indicated the following five areas as most difficult areas upon arrival in Canada: language, loneliness, mental/emotional stress, unemployment and economic difficulties, and underemployment, in that order.

The most difficult areas currently experienced by Korean-Canadian women are as follows: language, children's educational concern, mental/emotional stress, loneliness, and relationship with children, in that order.

6.1.4. Social Services

This research indicated that the majority of respondents turn to family, friends, and ethnic community when there is a need for some assistance.

This research also found that only 15% of the respondents had sought assistance from non-Korean social service agencies. The major reasons for not seeking assistance from non-Korean social service agencies consisted of wanting to resolve it by themselves, language difficulties, reluctance to reveal their difficulty to others, and cultural differences.

One of the most critical findings of this research was that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (94%) believed that there is a need for a Korean-speaking social service agency in Metro Toronto area. Eighty-six percent of the respondents said that they would utilize such services if available. The counselling service for employment, family, marital, and legal aid were rated the highest in terms of need (76%).

Eighty-one percent of the respondents also indicated a need for a drop-in center where Korean-Canadian women could freely drop by for socialization, or planned discussions, and lectures covering areas that would be helpful to them in their daily life in Canada.

6.2. CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this research led to some general conclusions about the Korean-Canadian women in Metro Toronto.

The profile of the respondents generally resembles the population descriptions in other studies on Koreans. This might suggest that some of the study results might be generalized to other groups of Korean-Canadian women in Canada, provided the local characteristics are taken into consideration.

The profile that emerged from the study is that the Korean-Canadian women are rather young, married, with two or three children, attempting to cope with both their employment as well as work at home. Language, mental/emotional stress, loneliness and concern over children's education and relationships with their children are their major concerns. They still largely identify with the Korean community and their participation in the larger Canadian society is relatively infrequent. Although the Korean-Canadian women do not appear to constitute a "problematic" group as such, this study essentially substantiates the common observation of many Koreans, that Korean-Canadian women are affected by problems and unmet service needs as they attempt to adjust to their life in a new country. The fact that mental/emotional stress and loneliness occupy a prominent priority among their major problems, would indicate that their needs are not being met and that some form of service is required to meet these needs.

6.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

After having explored various aspects of the resettlement of the Korean-Canadian women in Metro Toronto, it seems appropriate to conclude this study with recommendations related to the findings and conclusions. The recommendations are general in nature, and may be applicable to other ethnic groups as well.

Language programs must be stressed as necessary for immigrant women in order to prevent a major obstacle in their adjustment to a new life in Canada. Language problems have been noted as being correlated not only to the problem of employment but also to the phenomena of isolation, loneliness, and even exploitation in the case of some immigrant women. It has also been noted that language problems can also create a source of parent-child conflict in the areas of education and authority. It is recommended that an investigation be made to ascertain how widespread these phenomena are. A positive identification of these problems will no doubt have to affect the future orientation and content of existing language programs and immigrant literature.

It has been noted that although there are part-time language training classes available, many Korean-Canadian women find, working long hours at a place of employment, caring for a family, and attending part-time classes in the evenings difficult. Considering this reality and also recognizing the importance of language and communication skills in improving worker performance and productivity, it is recommended that industry employing a large proportion of immigrant women provide English as Second Language (ESL) classes for the immigrant workers during business hours.

It has been noted that adequate interpretive services do not exist for immigrant women from Korea who are not familiar with, or who have difficulty with the English language. The problem becomes evident when the immigrant women in question seek medical, psychiatric, or social service assistance, and hence must also be a handicap elsewhere - for example, in schools, shopping, and in interaction with neighbours. It is recommended that to begin such a development of interpretive services, volunteers, and employees who are able to give effective interpretive services, be used. They should become well known to social agencies, ethnic organizations, and to the immigrants so that they can be called upon when the need arises.

It has been noted that discrimination appears to be a problem for many in their places of employment and in social interactions. The Ontario Human Rights Commission is apparently not well used or well known, due to lack of understanding about the very nature of Canadian public services. It is recommended that the role and function, as well as the limitations of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, be made clear in immigrant literature. It is further recommended that the Ontario Human Rights Commission develop a more visible profile and be encouraged to become, in some way, a part of the network which provides services and information to immigrants.

In order to improve the social services available to Korean-Canadian women and their families, first, all levels of government need to acknowledge that such services are important and necessary. The Bilingualism policy of the federal government had been seen as a powerful protective force that assured us equality and a just place in Canadian society. A similar thrust of energy is required to move other ethnic minority groups to full participation in Canadian society.

It has been found that though services and information for immigrant women is available to varying degrees, in social agencies, the personnel do not appear to be coordinated and their activities are not adequately publicized. On the basis of this research, these services are not well used by Korean-Canadian women. It is recommended that every effort be made to coordinate these sources of information and services, and to publicize their existence, in order to increase the awareness of immigrants to the community resources available to them. This would help ensure that immigrant women could have a realistic opportunity to utilize these services. It is also recommended that these social services and information sources be well publicized through the ethnic organizations, at ports of entry, and during the pre-counselling phase in the country of origin.

It is recommended that adequate and secure funding be provided for all agencies and organizations that are providing services to immigrant women and their families in Canada. In a country with a long history of innovation, accommodation and tolerance, the challenge of an increasingly multicultural and multiracial society is one which can and should be met head-on. In the same way that previous generations overcame the problems posed by regional and linguistic differences through the adoption of an official policy on bilingualism, the government can now consciously choose a course of action which will ensure that there are no roadblocks preventing the full participation of all citizens in the cultural, social, economic and political life of the country.

It is recommended that when hiring and retaining personnel for community agencies, a high priority be given to candidates with additional language abilities. As previously mentioned, an effective counselling is dependent on the ability to communicate both verbally and non-verbally. It is important that there be specific staff who are prepared to work with immigrant women and capable of speaking their language.

Finally, an in-service training programs should also be developed for workers currently employed in the government-supported fields of health, education, employment and social services, related to the process of immigrant integration and to the diverse cultural backgrounds of residents in Ontario.

6.4. ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In the process of examining the data for this research, a number of new questions have arisen. Some important issues were purposely not included in this exploratory study, but which need to be researched.

This section will describe a number of issues that might be considered for future research, which would complement the research done so far in this area.

One area needing further study is the relationship between the parents and the children of Koreans-Canadians. While some studies indicated that children tend to reject their parent's background, this research indicated that perhaps the relationship between the parents and children may not be as unsatisfactory as we are led to believe. Further research comparing the parents' perspective and children's perspective on this issue would be useful.

Another area for research is the exploration of the process of assimilation of the younger Korean-Canadian women who have been in Canada for a number of years. One of the interesting areas in this research is related to the finding that respondents who arrived in Canada at a young age and those who had been in Canada for an extended period of time did not necessarily have much higher level of affiliation with non-Korean organizations or non-Korean friends. It would be of interest to explore this phenomena in more depth, as it could be indicative of the assimilation process of Koreans in Canada and would have a bearing on the future generations.

A comparative study between Korean-Canadian women and immigrant women from other ethnic groups could help to indicate whether there are specific issues that concern Korean-Canadian women.

On the similar ground, another way to provide a context in which to view recent immigrant women's experience is to compare them to native-born women. It would be valuable to compare the overall experiences of immigrants to others and to examine the differences of education, and other important variables held constant. Comparisons of this kind are a vital supplement to the examination of differences within the immigrant population in this study.

In doing this research, the researcher discovered major gaps in the available studies on immigrant women. It is, indeed, surprising, given the wealth of literature on and

by the women's movement, that immigrant women have been dealt with so peripherally. There is a dire need for immigrant women to write about their own experiences and concerns, and to be the primary resource for educating the rest of society about their situation, their concerns, and the need for change.

APPENDIX**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Please check appropriate place.
(You may check more than one
where appropriate.)

A. CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

1. Age: _____

2. What is your present marital status?

single _____ married _____ separated _____
divorced _____ widowed _____

3. What is your highest level of education?

Elementary Junior Senior Technical University Post
High High College Grad

in Korea

in Canada
or other

4. If married, what is your spouse's highest level of education?

Elementary Junior Senior Technical University Post
High High College Grad

in Korea

in Canada
or other

5. What is your religious affiliation?

Catholic _____ Protestant _____ Buddhism _____
Confucism _____ Other _____

6. For how long have you now been in Canada?

less than 2 years _____ less than 5 years _____
 less than 10 years _____ less than 15 years _____
 less than 20 years _____ more than 20 years _____

7. How old were you when you first arrived in Canada?

less than 10 years old _____ less than 20 years old _____
 less than 30 years old _____ less than 40 years old _____
 more than 41 years old _____

8. With whom did you arrive in Canada?

by myself _____ with parents _____
 with children _____ with siblings _____
 with relatives _____ with husband _____
 other _____

9. Have you arrived in Canada as:

sponsored _____ nominated relatives _____
 guaranteed job _____ student visa _____ visitor _____
 business investment immigrant _____ other _____
 dependent _____ independent _____

10. What were your main reasons for emigrating from Korea?

desire for adventure, travel and to see the world _____
 desire to study _____
 desire to set up business _____
 to improve economic position and standard
 of living _____
 better future for the children _____
 to be with husband or fiancé _____
 to be with family or relatives _____
 came with parents _____
 unsettled political situation in Korea _____

11. Are you satisfied with your decision to immigrate to Canada?

Yes _____ No _____

12. Are you a Canadian citizen?

Yes ____ No ____

13. Did you have some say in the decision to migrate?

Yes ____ No ____

14. Before coming to Canada, did you have any relatives or friends here?

Yes ____ No ____

15. Do you feel that there is discrimination in Canada?

Yes ____ No ____

16. Do you think that discrimination:

was worst when I first arrived in Canada ____
is worse now ____
is same ____

B. FAMILY RELATIONSHIP FOR MARRIED RESPONDENTS ONLY

1. How long have you been married?

less than 2 years ____ less than 5 years ____
less than 10 years ____ less than 20 years ____
less than 30 years ____ less than 40 years ____

2. Where did you get married?

in Korea before immigrating to Canada ____
spouse came out to Korea ____
I came out to Korea ____
spouse came to Canada ____
I came to Canada ____
met while both of us were living in Canada ____
other ____

3. To what extent does your husband help out in the following areas?

Always Frequently Sometimes Never

cleaning
dish washing
ironing
grocery shopping
preparing meals
taking out garbage
looking after children
laundry

4. How do you see your position at home?

I feel that children's education and housework is wife's duty ---

I feel that my husband and I are equal partners ---

My husband respects me and supports my position in community ---

Other ---

5. What happens when you and your spouse have differences of opinion?

go with husband's view ---

go with my view ---

compromise ---

6. What are the most difficult areas between you and your spouse?

(list by order of difficulty)

financial matters ---

relationship with in-laws or my family of origin ---

children's education ---

different life-styles ---

inequality ---

not enough time to spend with each other ---

physical violence ---

bad drinking habit ---

none ---

other ____

7. Do you have your in-laws living with you?

father-in-law ____
 mother-in-law ____
 other in-laws (relatives) ____
 no ____

8. Do you have your family of origin living with you?

father ____ mother ____ others ____ no ____

9. How do you feel about having your parents at a nursing home?

I do not wish it at all ____
 I do not wish it ____
 It's all right ____
 It's a good idea ____

10. If you're living with your in-laws or your parents, what is the biggest problem that you encounter (list by order of difficulty):

language ____ financial ____
 differences in living-style ____
 differences in way of thinking ____
 differences in eating habits ____
 poor health ____
 housing ____
 relationship with children ____
 none ____
 other ____

C. FOR UNMARRIED RESPONDENTS ONLY

1. How important is it for you to marry a Korean?

very important ____ important ____
 does not matter ____ not very important ____
 not important at all ____

2. What type of marriage partner do you wish for?

- a Korean living in Canada or the U.S. ____
 a Korean living in Korea ____
 a non-Korean ____
 race is not important ____

D. FOR SEPARATED OR DIVORCED RESPONDENTS ONLY

1. How long after your marriage did you separate or divorce?

- less than 2 years ____ less than 5 years ____
 less than 10 years ____ less than 20 years ____
 more than 20 years ____

2. What were the main reasons for separation or divorce?

(You may check more than one)

- personality conflict ____ physical violence ____
 lack of affection ____ drinking ____ gambling ____
 financial problems ____ issue of equality ____
 problems regarding parent of in-laws ____
 conflict regarding Canadianized and Koreanized
 life style ____
 other ---

E. RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILDREN

1. How many children do you have and what are their ages?

sex	age	age	age	age	age	total
male						
female						

2. What is the most difficult area between you and your children?

language barrier ____ cultural gap ____

generation gap ____ other ____

3. Who looks after your children when you or your husband are unable to do so?

relatives ____ family ____ daycare ____ baby sitter ____
 leave them to play by themselves ____
 not applicable ____ other ____

4. Do you know most of your children's friends?

Yes ____ No ____

5. Do your children's friends come over to your house?

often ____ sometimes ____ never ____

6. Do your children visit their friends' house?

often ____ sometimes ____ never ____

7. What do you think of the relationship between you and your children?

There is lack of communication ____
 They have no respect for parents and/or are
 embarrassed by us ____
 Children are too independent ____
 We treat the children liberally ____
 We are protective of children ____

8. If you have young children, do you think that there are enough daycare centres?

Yes ____ No ____

9. How well do you feel you understand the Canadian school or educational system?

well ____ some ____ not very well ____

10. How often do you attend meetings at your children's school?

always ____ about half ____ seldom ____ never ____

11. Who meets with the teachers?

husband ____ self ____ together ____
never meet ____ other ____

12. How important do you think it is for your children to choose a Korean spouse?

very important ____ important ____
does not matter ____ not important ____

F. WORK FORCE

1. Are you presently working?

full-time ____ part-time ____ student ____ other ____ no ____

2. What is the main reason for working?

financial necessity ____ extra money ____
enjoy work ____
children have grown and there is no need to
be at home ____ other ____

3. If you're presently not working, would you like to be working?

Yes ____ No ____

4. If you are not working, what is the main reason?

language problem ____ insufficient skills ____
family problem ____ children's upbringing ____
health ____ family's objection ____
do not wish to ____ other ____

5. What type of work do you do?

convenience store ____ skilled technician ____

clerical ____ professional ____ factory ____
 private business ____ general labour ____
 unemployed ____ other ____

6. Have you worked in Korea?

Yes ____ No ____

7. What type of work did you do in Korea?

convenience store ____ skilled technician ____
 clerical ____ professional ____ factory ____
 private business ____ general labour ____
 unemployed ____ other ____

8. Are you currently working in your profession?

Yes ____ No ____

9. Have you ever experienced discrimination at work?

Yes ____ No ____

10. If yes to question 9, then in what way?

less than minimum wage ____
 difficulty in obtaining promotion ____
 difficulty in joining in social life at work ____
 taken advantage of because of language difficulty
 and little understanding of legal rights ____

11. If you are working and being a housewife, what are some of the disadvantages?

not enough time to spend with the family ____
 no time for myself ____
 responsible for most of house work while holding down
 a job ____
 fatigue ____
 in spite of participating in the work force, have no
 financial power ____
 other ____

12. Are you satisfied with your present job? ☒

satisfied ☐ average ☐ dissatisfied ☐

13. Is your spouse also employed?

Yes ☐ No ☐

14. If you are not participating in the work force, what are some of the problems you face?

loneliness ☐
 difficult to adjust into Canadian society ☐
 no say in the financial matter ☐
 no decision making power ☐
 regressing ☐ other ☐

G. LANGUAGE TRAINING

1. If you have attended English classes, for how long and how often did you attend?

months ☐ week ☐ occasionally ☐

2. How helpful was the English classes?

very helpful ☐ helpful ☐ not helpful ☐

3. What was your main purpose for attending English school?

desire to improve English ☐
 desire to get a job ☐
 had spare time ☐
 in order to facilitate communication with children ☐
 to make friends ☐

4. If you stopped attending English classes, what was the reason?

felt that it helped ☐
 got a job ☐

to look after children ____
 inconvenient location and transportation ____
 no time ____
 family objection ____
 too tired ____
 other ____

H. LANGUAGE FLUENCY

1. Level of fluency in English upon arrival:

Reading Speaking Writing Understanding

Excellent
 Good
 Fair
 Poor
 Very poor

2. Level of fluency in English now:

Reading Speaking Writing Understanding

Excellent
 Good
 Fair
 Poor
 Very poor

3. Do you have any difficulty communicating with doctors, dentists, government agencies, etc.?

Yes _____ NO _____

4. How do you resolve this difficulty?

ask family to interpret ____
 ask friend to interpret ____
 ask for interpreter ____
 other ____

5. What language do you use with your children?

Korean _____ English _____ combined _____

6. In what language do your children reply in ?

Korean _____ English _____ combined _____

7. Do you ever feel isolated when your family communicate in English only?

Yes _____ No _____

I. INCOME

1. What is your annual income?

Amount spouse self

less than 5,000

less than 10,000

less than 20,000

less than 30,000

less than 40,000

over 40,000

do not know

2. Who looks after the financial matters?

husband _____ wife _____ jointly _____

3. Whose name is the bank account in?

husband's _____ self _____ joint _____ individually _____

4. How do you spend your extra money?

clothing and make-up _____

restaurant _____

entertainment _____

no extra money _____

other _____

5. Do you feel that you have more say in the financial matter because you are working?

Yes _____ No _____

6. Who controls the finances at home?

husband _____ self _____ together _____

J. MAJOR PROBLEM AREAS UPON ARRIVAL AND PRESENT TIME

1. List five major areas upon arrival and currently.

Upon arrival Present time

unemployment and economic difficulties
underemployment
status inconsistency
separation of families
relationship with parents or in-laws
children's educational concern
discrimination
physical stress
mental/emotional stress
language
daycare
housing
loneliness
culture shock
none

K. SOCIAL SERVICES

1. When and if you have any problems at work with the family, do you turn for assistance?

relative _____ Korean community leader _____
friend _____ Canadian social services _____
police _____ do not ask for help _____
lawyer _____ others _____ minister _____

2. Have you ever sought services from social service agencies?

Yes _____ No _____

3. If you have never sought any service from Canadian social agency, what is the main reason?

language difficulties _____
 cultural difference _____
 would like to resolve it on my own _____
 do not want to reveal my difficulties to others _____

4. Do you think there is a need for a Korean Social Service agency?

Yes _____ No _____

5. What kind of services do you think we need?

daycare _____
 emergency hostels _____
 nursing home _____
 counselling service (for employment, family, marital, and legal aid) _____

6. If those services are available would you utilize it?

Yes _____ No _____

7. Do you think there is a need for a drop-in center for women for socializing and programs?

Yes _____ No _____

L. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND LEISURE TIME

1. Are the majority of your friends or acquaintance:

Korean _____ Canadian _____ various nationalities _____

2. Do you participate in any of the Korean organizations?

No _____ if yes, specify:

Korean-Canadian Cultural Association _____

church _____

alumni _____

volunteer services _____

business organizations _____

others _____

3. Do you participate in any non-Korean organizations?

No _____ if yes, specify :

4. What kind of publications do you read?

Korean newspaper _____

Canadian newspaper _____

Korean magazines _____

Canadian magazines _____

5. How do you spend your leisure time?

with the family _____

with friends _____

alone _____

other _____

6. What do you do for your leisure time?

watch TV _____

movies _____

read _____

concert _____

visit friend _____

sports _____

other _____

7. How often do you take your vacation?

more than once a year ____

once a year ____

once every 2 years ____

once every 3 years ____

once every 5 years ____

never ____

other ____

M. GENERAL OPEN QUESTIONS

1. What do you find is the greatest advantage in being an immigrant (ethnic) woman?

2. What is the greatest disadvantage?

3. Did you have any dreams when coming to Canada?

4. Was that dream fulfilled?

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VITAE AUCTORIS

Irene Chungwha Lee was born on February 19, 1954 in Seoul, Korea. She attended elementary school in Korea and immigrated to Vancouver, Canada in 1965 with her family. She attended junior high school in Vancouver and then moved to Toronto in 1969, and graduated from high school in 1973. In the fall of 1973, she was accepted into the University of Toronto, from which she graduated in 1977 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts (Sociology).

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